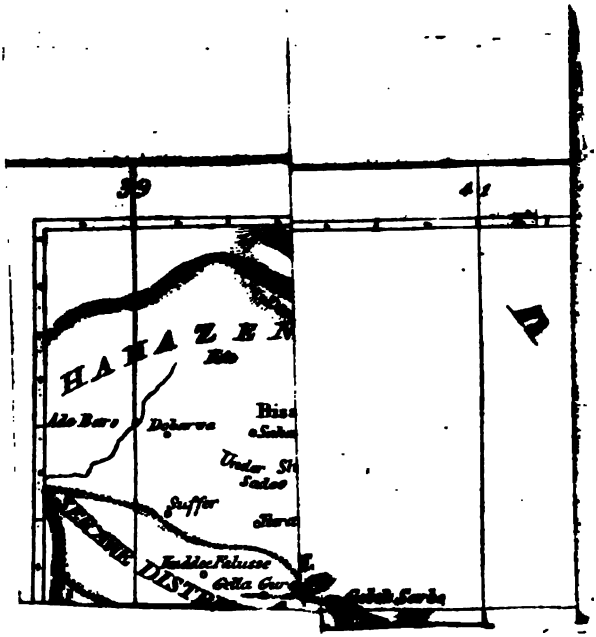
A

VOYAGE TO ABYSSINIA.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A

VOYAGE TO ABYSSINIA,

AND

TRAVELS

INTO THE INTERIOR OF THAT COUNTRY,

EXECUTED UNDER THE ORDERS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT,

IN THE YEARS 1809 AND 1810;

IN WHICH ARE INCLUDED,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS ON THE EAST COAST OF AFRICA,

VISITED IN THE COURSE OF THE VOYAGE;

A CONCISE NARRATIVE OF LATE EVENTS IN ARABIA FELIX;

AND

SOME PARTICULARS RESPECTING THE ABORIGINAL AFRICAN TRIBES, EXTENDING FROM MOSAMBIQUE TO THE BORDERS OF EGYPT;

TOGETHER WITH

VOCABULARIES OF THEIR RESPECTIVE LANGUAGES.

ILLUSTRATED WITH

A MAP OF ABYSSINIA.

BY HENRY SALT, ESQ. F. R. S. &c.

"Providentiam divinam summis laudibus celebrandam quod inter tot barbaros, inter tot Muhammedanorum persecutiones Ecclesiam Æthiopicam in Africa per tot secula conservaverit."——*Speech of Ernest Duke of Saxony to Father Gregory. Vide Ludolfi Comment.*

PUBLISHED BY M. CAREY, PHILADELPHIA,
AND WELLS & LILLY, BOSTON.

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1816.

TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCE REGENT.

SIR,

AMONG the different avocations to which men have devoted their time, no pursuits can lay perhaps a fairer claim to the Public favour than those of the traveller, owing to his efforts being generally directed to establish a more intimate connection between distant countries; thereby enlarging the bounds of knowledge, promoting the interests of commerce, and tending in a high degree to ameliorate the general condition of mankind. The desire which YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS has uniformly evinced to encourage similar undertakings, as well as to patronise the various branches of polite literature, merits in its fullest extent the admiration of the Public; and, as an individual who has already experienced your condescension and liberal attention

to his views, I beg leave to express my very grateful acknowledgments, by dedicating this Volume to YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS. Should it succeed in attracting your notice to the present forlorn and distracted state of Abyssinia, so far as to induce YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS to promote the welfare of that country, by the introduction of useful arts together with a judicious advancement of the true tenets of the Christian Religion among its inhabitants, I shall feel that my exertions in this cause have not been in vain; and, in the meanwhile, as the best reward of my labours, shall continue to look forward to the consolatory hope of witnessing the beneficial changes which the bounty and wisdom of YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS may effect in the condition of that remote Country.

I have the honour to be,

with profound veneration and respect,

SIR,

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS'S

most faithful and most dutiful servant,

HENRY SALT.

London, July 9th, 1814.

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finding our endeavours unavailing, and several of the ships much endangered by the storm, we bore up and returned back to St. Helen's, which our vessel was fortunate enough to effect, without having received the slightest damage. On the following day the ship was carried to the Motherbank; and we had reason to be exceedingly thankful, at getting in; for on the 31st a perfect hurricane came on, that drove no less than fifteen vessels on shore, in the harbour, which, had we remained in the Channel, would in all probability have put an early stop to our voyage. So unpleasant a commencement, was indeed not very encouraging, with respect to the final termination of our enterprize; but the imminent danger we had escaped compensated, in some degree, for the inconveniences we had suffered.

The adverse winds, and tempestuous weather, continued until the 2d of March, when we again set sail, with a Brazil convoy, under the direction of Captain Smith of the Brilliant. At eleven in the morning we passed through the Needles, and at four in the afternoon took our departure, from the white and beautiful cliff of St. Albans. This was the last sight of the English coast we enjoyed. The weather was fine, and the wind so much in our favour, that on the 10th, we crossed the rolling sea which distinguishes the Bay of Biscay, and on the 13th came in sight of the Island of Porto Santo. The mountains on this island are picturesque in their forms, and when the sun sets behind them, assume great varieties of effect. These we had sufficient time to admire; for the wind being light, we did not reach the anchorage at Funchal, on the Island of Madeira, until the 15th.

On landing at that place, I was gratified by finding that Major Newman, belonging to the eleventh British regiment of foot, one of my schoolfellows, and earliest friends, was stationed on the island; in whose society I spent three days, in the most agreeable manner. The town of Funchal, owing to the number of ships in the harbour, chiefly East Indiamen, formed at this time one continued scene of gaiety; dinner parties, balls and plays were repeated every day, and the fineness of the season added to the beautiful aspect of the country. I should not, however, from the observations I made, judge it was particu-

larly well calculated, to benefit the health of the numerous invalids now resorting to it, unless they possess a greater degree of abstinence, from scenes of pleasure, than usually belongs to the natives of England. My stay, nevertheless, was too short to enable me to make any very accurate estimate, of the general habits and customs of the place, or to gain any new information respecting an island, so often described.

On the 18th we took our departure; on the 20th we saw the Island of Palmas, where the sea being, as is usual, calm, we caught a turtle, sleeping on the water; on the 10th of April, we crossed the Equator, and on the 19th of May approached the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope. The sea birds round our ship now became numerous, many of which were taken by the ship's company, with a hook and line; and in the same way, three albatrosses were caught, one of which measured nine feet ten inches from wing to wing. On the 20th, we came in sight of the mountains of the Cape, and on the same day at noon, our ship was at anchor in Table Bay. The season of the year was too far advanced to render this step prudent, but the Captain was induced to venture it on account of part of his cargo which he had to deliver at Cape Town; though not, as appears by a remark in his journal, without feeling "an unpleasant impression that some accident might occur."

My remarks at the Cape will be almost entirely confined to the occurrences of the day; the description of this colony having been so exhausted by preceding writers, especially by the present able Secretary to the Admiralty, that I should deem it a trespass, on the patience of the reader, were I to dwell on the subject at any length. The introductions I had received from England, procured me a very gratifying reception, from His Excellency the Governor, Lord Caledon, General Grey, and the Admiral commanding the station, besides many agreeable English families resident at the Cape. I also, through the kindness of a friend, became acquainted with several Dutch families of the highest respectability, which added greatly to the pleasure of my stay, at the settlement, and enabled me to form a tolerably fair estimate of its society. Among all the foreign colonies that I have visited,

I have found no residence so agreeable as the Cape. The neatness, and conveniency of the houses, the salubrity of the climate, and the grandeur of the adjacent mountains, make Cape Town, except during the prevalence of the south-east winds, a most desirable place of abode; and the many beautiful rides and well sheltered country residences in the neighbourhood, render the adjoining country always delightful. To a person possessing a taste for the sublime, the scenery here could not fail to interest; if fond of plants, the infinite variety of species found close even to the town, would afford him endless amusement; and if inclined to the charms of social intercourse, he might at this time have been gratified, by mixing in a society, perhaps equal to any in England; excepting that which is to be met with in the highly polished circles of our metropolis.

The Dutch seem desirous, generally, to associate with the English, and when they find a person willing to do justice to their character, and to conform to their manners, they seldom fail to cherish his acquaintance, and to treat him with distinguished attention. The best informed are perfectly sensible of the great improvements made in the colony by the English, since they have had possession of it; and appear anxious, by placing their sons in our navy, and army, and by marrying their daughters to our countrymen, to cement the bond of union that subsists between the two nations. In their domestic character, there is blended so much urbanity, and such an earnest desire to render life happy, that it makes them in general pleasant companions; and their habits of life, to a person with unprejudiced feelings, for any particular system, are neither disagreeable, nor to a certain degree difficult of adoption.

The women of the Cape are most of them pretty, and very pleasing in their manners; and there is a freedom of intercourse allowed them in society, which renders their company peculiarly attractive. In no part of the world are country excursions better conducted than in this colony. The climate, during a great part of the year, from the mildness of its temperature, is particularly adapted to parties of this description: and the lively spirit which characterizes the younger females, is on no

occasion shewn to greater advantage. Sometimes eight or ten ladies, and as many gentlemen start on horseback, at the break of day, and ride six or seven miles to one of the country-seats, before breakfast, and afterwards remount their horses, extend their excursions, dine at the house of another friend, and without the slightest appearance of fatigue conclude the evening with a dance. I have enjoyed many parties like these, through the kindness of an amiable family with which I spent great part of my time; and I confess that the sensations excited on such occasions rendered them some of the happiest moments of my existence. I found on such excursions, that the feelings of my countrymen were pretty much in unison with my own; and the frequent marriages, which have ensued from the kind of intimacy, to which they give rise, do equal credit to the taste of both parties.

I have before said that it was not my intention, to enter into a description at length, of the commercial or political affairs of this colony; I shall therefore only remark in general terms, that it appeared to have greatly improved since my former visit in 1802, which is in a great measure to be attributed to the judicious conduct of Lord Caledon, whose many amiable qualities acquired him the esteem and admiration of all the valuable part of the settlement. He was indeed thought by some to have been too mild, and conciliating in his general treatment of the Dutch inhabitants, and to have listened to their opinions with too much respect; but if these be failings, they are of a description from which I hope that his successors may not be exempt, since their effects have assuredly been eminently beneficial, as the whole state of the colony sufficiently proves. The revenue has been nearly doubled, by the encouragement given to commerce; and great improvements have been gradually introduced into the judicial department; the most important of which is, an annual circuit of one of the Judges, into the more distant parts of the colony. Agriculture is daily extending its benefits; the land has become more valuable; and considerable alterations for the better have taken place, with respect to the implements of husbandry, and the general modes of cultivating the farms. The

English plough has been introduced; the Spanish breed of sheep, which proves extremely advantageous, is rapidly increasing; and the manner of dressing the vines, as practised on the Rhine, has been adopted, in some of the vintages, with success. Nothing indeed appears to be wanting to the welfare of the colony, except an increase of population, which an extraordinary fatality, prevailing among children, seems to render hopeless without some external assistance; but every attempt of this nature has not been attended hitherto with the expected advantages. It is a curious fact, that the male population exceeds the female in every class of inhabitants in this settlement; the surplus on the male side amounting altogether to about 1600.

I found that Lord Caledon had not confined his views solely to the improvement of the settlement itself, but that he had also sent a mission to the interior; in the well-founded expectation that new discoveries might be made, interesting in a general point of view, as well as tending ultimately to the advantage of the colony. Mr. Cowan, a medical gentleman, was the person entrusted with the charge of this mission, who had previously evinced considerable ability in a journal he had written of an expedition to the Karroo, and he was accompanied by Lieutenant Donovan, with a sufficient number of attendants for the management of two wagons, in which the party set out on its expedition. At the time of my being at the Cape, letters had been just received from Mr. Cowan, bearing a recent date; at which time he and his companions had penetrated much farther north than any preceding travellers. The information already obtained appeared interesting; the country through which the party had passed was rich and fertile, and intersected by numerous rivers, all shaping their course to the west; the native tribes, which they had met with, were peaceably inclined, and it seems not unlikely, from Mr. Cowan's opinion, might be induced to open an intercourse with the Cape.

At the latter end of May preparations were made for our departure from this settlement, which were suddenly retarded by the occurrence of an accident which threatened to bring our voyage to an unpleasant termination.

On Monday the 29th, about eleven in the morning, the wind sprung up from the north-east, accompanied with dark hazy weather, and a heavy sea. At twelve, after violent rain, the wind increased to a gale, and so tremendous a swell came rolling into Table Bay that it occasioned our ship to strike the ground, in which dangerous predicament she continued nearly two hours. The violence of the shocks she sustained tore away the rudder from its fastenings, and stove in part of the stern. Our chief officer, who was on board, immediately hoisted lights, and fired several guns as signals of distress; on hearing which the Captain, who happened to be on shore, went down to the beach, and, though the evening was so dark that the vessel could only be seen for a moment, during the flashing of the guns, succeeded, with the assistance of his supercargo, and two captains of merchant-vessels, who volunteered their services on the occasion, in launching a boat and getting her off to the ship, where he arrived just in time to remedy the disaster, and prevent farther mischief. Admiral Bertie considered the situation of the vessel extremely dangerous, and exerted himself very strenuously to prevent the loss of lives and property likely to ensue in the event of her being driven on shore; for which purpose he ordered out a patrole of dragoons on the beach; while he himself waited in great anxiety, to render any personal assistance, that might be requisite.

Owing to the entrance into the Bay being at this season interdicted by the Dutch law, it appears that there exists no provision at Cape Town, with respect to boats or seamen, for the purpose of affording aid in cases of distress; the whole of the naval establishment being removed to Simon's Town. This deficiency ought to be remedied, or at least a life-boat might be kept in readiness, to preserve the lives of persons endangered, as it is by no means unusual for merchant-vessels to run all hazards, rather than subject their cargo to the heavy expenses attendant on the land carriage from Simon's Bay.

The reader will easily imagine the anxious state of suspense, in which I was kept during this distressing occurrence; it, however, seemed to turn out ultimately to our advantage; for the delay it occasioned, enabled me to

obtain convoy for the Marian as far as Mosambique, in consequence of a representation I had occasion to make to the Admiral, respecting the dangers to be apprehended, from French privateers in that channel, which fortunately happened to coincide with other important views, entertained by him, somewhat connected with the same quarter.

The vessels appointed for this service were the Racehorse, and Staunch brigs of war, commanded by Captains Fisher and Street. The former obligingly offered me a passage on board his vessel, as far as Mosambique; which I gladly accepted, and on the 27th of July the three ships left Simon's Bay, on their destination. I shall pass over the first part of our voyage; as nothing particular occurred worthy of notice, except a violent storm of thunder and lightning on the 5th of August, in latitude 33° 38′, which was tremendously awful.

I shall now proceed to describe the events, which took place in our passage, through the Mosambique channel.

On the 15th of August we made the land, between the Capes Corrientes, and St. Sebastian. As we approached the shore, we had soundings from 35 to 25 fathoms on a steep bank. The current in this place ran strong to the southward, impeding our course, not less than sixty miles in the twenty-four hours. The season being late, and the weather rather unsettled, Captain Fisher, anxious to lose as little time as possible, dispatched the Staunch and Marian, on the evening of the 16th, direct to Mosambique, while we proceeded along shore, in the Racehorse, for the purpose of visiting Sofala. On the 17th, we made Cape St. Sebastian, a moderately high bluff point, from which a low sandy beach extends out to the north-east; during the day we stretched along shore, keeping it at about four miles distant, and afterwards passed close to the Bazaruto Islands, which are apparently connected by reefs of rocks to each other, and to the coast. At night we stood off to sea.

On the 18th of August, standing in shore, we came into good soundings of twenty, fifteen, and twelve fathoms on the Sofala bank; and while searching for the harbour we discovered a long reef of rocks, over which the sea was breaking, which we supposed to be the one laid

down in the charts a little to the southward of Inancata. We bore away to round this, for which the soundings proved an excellent guide, and soon after, seeing a point, which we supposed to be the northern end of Inancata Island, we came to an anchor in ten fathoms.

On the 19th, Mr. Green the first Lieutenant, and myself set out at day light, to look for the harbour and town of Sofala. After leaving the vessel we sailed straight for the point, which we conceived to be Inancata, having regular soundings decreasing as we advanced. On approaching the point we found breakers extending a considerable way from it, which we rounded in one and a half fathom, when the water became deeper, and a second point opened beyond, to which we directed our course. On reaching it the sea was perfectly smooth, to the beach, and we determined, in consequence, to land. A great number of curlews, and other birds were feeding by the water's edge, but they were so wild, that they flew away long before we were within gun-shot.

The point, on which we landed, was covered with brushwood, and small trees, consisting chiefly of such species, as grow in salt water, the most common kind being the *rack* of the Red Sea, of which Mr. Bruce has given a tolerably correct drawing. In every part of the thicket, the footsteps of numerous elephants might be seen, and we could plainly trace the recent ravages of these animals among the trees, many of which lay torn up by the roots, stripped of their bark, and their branches and leaves rudely twisted off, and trampled in the mire. At some little distance round the point, we discovered an old deserted shed, the remains of a fire, and some remnants of roasted fish, and cashew nuts left by the natives. Several trees near this spot had been burnt to the ground, and a kind of artificial entrenchment, seemed to have been made, for the purpose, no doubt, of keeping away elephants, and other wild beasts during the night. Soon afterwards we started a deer, which led us to conceive, that the natives were not at that time in the neighbourhood; still, however, having no particular object in view, we did not think it prudent to proceed, and therefore returned to the boat, after having collected a few specimens of plants, among which the following may be enu-

merated; a new and beautiful species of Combretum, Rhizophora gymnorhiza *Linn.*; Sonneratia ascida *Linn. suppl.*; Avicennia tomentosa *Linn.* (rack-tree of Mr. Bruce;) a species of Sapindus; and another of Diospyros, probably not described.

Whether the neck of land which we now left (which I shall call Elephant Point,) be an island, or a part of the main land, we had no means of ascertaining; it forms the southern cape of a large bay, or inlet about five miles across, and ten or twelve deep. As we stretched across this bay, about three miles west by south from Elephant Point, we came to a reef, over which the sea was breaking, which compelled us to tack in again; but the wind and tide being both contrary, we made so little progress, that we thought it best to take our sail in at once, and pull directly into the bay. We had no chart, nor directions to guide us to the situation of Sofala; but as we thought we could distinguish buildings, on an elevated ground lying about nine miles S. W. by W. from us, and as a volume of smoke was rising behind it, we steered in that direction. Advancing slowly into the bay, we shoaled our water gradually, from five fathoms to three, to two, and one fathom, and at last to three feet. This was at the bottom of the bay, which we had reached after four hours hard rowing. Our disappointment then became very great, on finding ourselves as far from our object as ever, not being able to discover the slightest trace of town, fort, nor inhabitants.

We nevertheless entered the mouth of a wide river, which soon branched off into so many divisions, and had so wild an appearance, as to render it imprudent to advance. The shores were all flat and covered with a thick jungle close down to the water's-edge, and the different points, or islands, formed by the intersecting streams, were so much alike, and so extremely intricate, that once entangled among them, it would have been scarcely possible for us to have found the way out. As we returned, we saw on the left bank two canoes hauled up on shore; on approaching them, one of the natives, quite naked, if I may except a thick coat of mud, started from the beach with a spear in his hand, and running away in great alarm, soon hid himself among the trees. The spot where he

disappeared bore some resemblance to an Indian village; large trees (of the genus ficus,) like the banian-tree, were planted in apparent order; and we thought we could distinguish huts, and every now and then people, passing to and fro among the trees.

Being at no great distance from the shore, we called out repeatedly, in Arabic and Portuguese, but in vain; and to induce the natives to come down, sent some of our crew to the canoes, (in reaching which they were obliged to wade up to their waists in mud) to hoist a white handkerchief, by way of flag, and to place there a coarse knife, and some biscuits, as tokens of friendship; but, like the rest of our plans this day, our hopes that some of the natives might be tempted down, proved fruitless, for so long as we remained in sight, the handkerchief was not removed.

A few miles from this spot, while sailing out of the Bay, we fell in with three more canoes afloat, filled with natives, and made towards them, in the hope of gaining some intelligence respecting the object of our research; but before we could overtake them, they had reached an inlet near a clump of lofty trees, where they jumped out, and drew their vessels to shore. The chief, as we conceived one of them to be, from his wearing a piece of blue cloth over his shoulders, and a covering on his head, walked leisurely up the beach. The rest were busily engaged, in carrying up some bundles from the canoes. Being within hail, we hoisted English colours, waved our handkerchiefs, and called out to them in Portuguese and Arabic not to be alarmed, as our intentions were friendly. They seemed partly to understand us, but appeared to give little credit to our professions, for instead of inviting us on shore, they brandished their spears, drew their arrows to the head, tore the branches wildly from the trees, and performed other strange antics, pretty obviously with the view of forbidding our approach; at the same time jabbering most vociferously in their native jargon, and making motions to us to be gone. We repeatedly questioned them where Sofala lay; but could get no intelligible answer. While this was passing, two of these natives boldly walked down to their canoes (which were within close pistol-shot,) and took out their

war-caps, and other ornaments, with which they equipped themselves. They afterwards, to exhibit their skill, shot their arrows sideways along the beach, as at a mark, making the whole time a variety of curious gestures.

Finding it useless to wait longer, we departed; but first gave them three cheers, and fired a pistol in the air, to see what effect it would have on their courage. This only redoubled their savage merriment; they shouted in return, jumped and skipped about and ran madly along the beach, expressing a kind of admiration, rather than dread, of our fire-arms. Much as we regretted our not being able to communicate with these natives, yet considering their vicinity to the Portuguese, I could not be surprised at their behaviour; nay, I was rather pleased to witness their warlike spirit, and to see how ready, and able they were to defend themselves against the attacks of slave-dealers, with whom they have had but too much intercourse, and for whom, there is every reason to think, we were mistaken.

From the little we saw of these people, I should suppose them, from their stature, colour, habits and language, to be nearly allied to the Kaffers, a large party of whom I had seen a short time before at the Cape, and I consider both races as perfectly distinct from either that of the Hottentot or of the Negro.

From this place we sailed direct to Elephant Point, and thence, the wind being foul, pulled with great difficulty through a heavy sea to the ship, which we did not reach till half past nine at night. During our absence, the Racehorse had moved her position, in doing which she had edged on another shoal in three and a half fathom. In the evening, Captain Fisher had a lunar observation, which confirmed his reckoning, and proved that the bay we had visited was actually that of Sofala.

On the 20th of August, the weather being very unsettled, and the wind hanging much to the eastward, Captain Fisher, unwilling to risk his ship on a shore where there was evidently many unknown shoals, determined at once to proceed to Mosambique.

Before we could get into ten fathoms, we passed three more shoals, over which the sea was breaking, when the soundings became regular, and no farther danger appear-

ed. The two following days we continued running along the bank of Sofala, in twelve fathoms. It appears evident, that this bank has been thrown up by the violence of the south-east winds, which generally prevail, blowing in direct opposition to the currents of many rapid rivers which here flow into the sea. The shoals appear by the old charts to have perceptibly increased, and it is probable, like the sands at the mouth of the Ganges, which they much resemble, that they are liable to shift, so that too much caution cannot be used in sailing up the coast. No ship should venture into less than twelve fathoms, in which depth she may traverse the Bank in perfect safety.* The Portuguese are so well aware of the dangers of approaching nearer, that they never let their ships attempt it, but carry on the whole intercourse with Sofala by small coasting vessels from Mosambique.

The number of whales we met with on the Bank was very considerable. At times we had twenty or thirty in sight; some of them passing close by the vessel, others darting away, making a snorting noise, and throwing up the water like a fountain. At different times they seemed to be pursuing each other, wildly rolling and tumbling about, occasionally rising erect out of the water, shining like bright pillars of silver, then falling on their backs, and flapping their enormous fins violently on the surface, with a noise somewhat resembling the report of a cannon.† It occurred to us that during this period, they were probably engaged in generating their species, on which account, it is not improbable, that at this particular season only they frequent the Bank; but whatever might have been the occasion of their assemblage, it was an uncommon and interesting sight, to see these un-

* Captain Tomkinson, who went up this channel a few months before us in the Caledon brig of war, has remarked in his journal "that this is the best track for India ships, from the beginning of May to the middle of August," which opinion, the observations we made fully confirm.

† Vide description of the leviathan in Job—"When he raiseth up himself, the mighty are afraid: by reason of breakings they purify themselves."—which expressions may possibly apply to the circumstances above described.

wieldy monsters,* wantonly sporting in the deep like playful dolphins.

On the 23d of August, at three in the afternoon, we made the Angoxa Islands, and found Mafamede very correctly laid down by Captain Huddart, in the Oriental Pilot. In the course of the day we saw several water-spouts, which luckily did not approach near enough to produce any great alarm. One of them continued steadily in the same position, for several minutes, and afforded me an opportunity of making a sketch of it.

On approaching the shore the following day, after standing off during the night, we found ourselves abreast of Bluff Point, of which we had got a sight the evening before, and we then kept along shore in search of the town of Mosambique, in the manner directed by the Indian Pilot, which very concisely tells you to "go on till you see the town;" however, this day, neither town nor any thing like it could be seen. In consequence, we again stood off during the night.

On the 25th, at day-break, we hauled in for the coast, and could soon plainly distinguish the flat table land referred to in the directory, as a mark for making Mosambique harbour, but it is somewhat strange that no bearing of it is given by which we could ascertain whether Mosambique lay to the north or south of it. Running in for the shore, we got into a bay skirted by moderately steep light-coloured cliffs, curiously interspersed with patches of black, and occasional inlets having a sandy beach. As we saw several natives on the shore, and thought we could distinguish canoes, Captain Fisher sent his boat to procure a pilot, and some information respecting the site of the town. The coast in this part must be very steep, for at the distance of only one mile and a half we could get no soundings.

At one, P. M. after we had ascertained our latitude, Mr. Green returned with a native pilot, and we learned that we were a few miles to the northward of Mosambique. This circumstance, of overshooting the harbour,

* This species is the Balæna physalus, which, from its fierceness and the small quantity of oil which it yields, is seldom sought after by the fishermen.

very commonly occurs to ships coming from the southward; the Staunch and Marian fell into the same error, and spent two days in getting up their ground. As a caution, it is particularly necessary to observe, that Table Mountain, the first object visible on approaching the coast, bears by compass from the harbour, N. b. W. The people on shore received Mr. Green very civilly, and he found that the name of the village was called Mozimbe, where a Portuguese officer resides, which renders it a very convenient place for ships from the northward to get a pilot, when unacquainted with the harbour.

The sea-breeze setting in, or rather the prevailing wind, as is generally the case after mid-day, coming more round to the eastward, enabled us to steer a southerly course along shore, and soon afterwards we discovered the flag on the fort of Mosambique. We passed close to the Island of Quintangone, and were just able to weather the Isle des Arbores off Cabaçeiro. Hence we continued a course direct for the Island of St. George, until we arrived within three quarters of a mile of it, when, having the three outer islands in one line, we bore up for the harbour. The marks for entering it are tolerably well given in a chart by Mr. Arrowsmith, excepting Paó Mountain, which lies at so great a distance in the interior as to be seldom seen, and therefore must not be relied on as a sea-mark.*

In going into the harbour it is necessary to sail close under the walls of a fort situated on the north end of the Island. This fort is strongly built, of an octagonal form, furnished with six bastions, the foundation of which at its northern extremity extends beyond the low water-mark into the sea: above high-water mark stands a parapet, mounted with eight or ten guns flanking from S. E. to N. W. over which the main wall rises about eighty feet. As we passed the fort we were hailed, as is customary, from the ramparts with a capacious trumpet about three feet in circumference, which appeared as if it had answered the same purpose ever since the establishment of the colony. Soon after rounding the point we came to an anchor in seven fathoms, outside of the twelve Por-

* The improved directions given in the body of the chart were laid down by Captain Weatherhead.

tuguese vessels which were riding in the port, when we were somewhat surprised to find that neither the Staunch nor Marian had arrived.

Immediately opposite to the anchorage lies the town of Mosambique, which occupies the central part of an island of the same name situated directly across the mouth of a deep bay. This island measures about two miles and a half in length, and a quarter of a mile in breadth, resembling in shape a crescent with its hollow part towards the sea.

The landing place is about a musket shot from the anchorage, and is rendered very commodious by steps carried out on either side of a pier built on arches, which formerly extended a considerable way into the sea. This had been much injured by time and weather, but was then undergoing a thorough repair.

On our landing, the guard, stationed near the pier-head was turned out to salute Captain Fisher, and we were led forward by several officers in waiting to the Government House, a handsome building that makes a conspicuous object in the annexed view of the town. Here we were introduced into a large saloon, in which were assembled most of the military officers and civil servants in the Settlement. The manner in which we were received was extremely gratifying, and the Governor, Don Antonio Manoel de Mello Castro e Mendoça assured us that he would do every thing in his power to facilitate our views, and make our stay at Mosambique agreeable.

This gentleman had arrived and taken the command of the Government only twelve days before, which was a fortunate circumstance, as he possessed a much higher character and more liberal feelings than is generally to be expected in a person at the head of a Portuguese settlement. He had early in life been employed in the Mediterranean, and had afterwards served eleven years in the Azores, had been subsequently promoted to the government of St. Paul in the Brazils, and had now accepted the government of Mosambique at the earnest desire of the Prince Regent of Portugal for the purpose of arranging the affairs of the colony, which had lately fallen into great disorder.

Before we returned to the ship, we made a circuit of the town; the first aspect of it and of the people, forms a strange mixture of Indian, Arabian and European costume, not blending very harmoniously together, and of which it is difficult to convey an adequate idea to any one unacquainted with the three countries.

On Saturday the 26th of August, having expressed a wish to see the Fort, an order was immediately issued for the purpose. The commandant received us at the gateway and went round the works with us. They contained about eighty pieces of cannon mounted, and plenty of balls piled near them, which seemed to have rested long undisturbed, if a judgment might be formed by the rusty coat of antiquity which adhered to them. Some of the cannon were marked 1660, Alonzo II., others were of Dutch extraction; and there was a very large howitzer made to cast stones of 100 lbs. weight, which might probably boast a Turkish origin. The situation of the fort is judiciously chosen, and if the cannon were well served would most effectually command the entrance into the harbour, as upwards of thirty of its guns would bear on any ship attempting to force the passage. There did not, at this time, appear much "note of preparation," a few sentries, some confined felons, and two or three old women, with cakes to sell, seemed to constitute the whole of the garrison, and in truth it was not of a description to be "marched thro' Coventry." It would appear that in earlier times a more vigilant attention was paid to its defence, for in the year 1608 this fort made a most gallant resistance against an attack of the Dutch, who landed on the Island in considerable force, and after remaining from the 29th of July to the 18th of August, were obliged to re-embark with disgrace, and a loss of more than a hundred men killed and wounded.*

* Vide Recueil des Voyages de la Comp. des Indes Orient. formée dans les Provinces Unies. Amsterdam, 1705, Vol. IV. p. 23-7. The following extract may serve to give the reader a pretty just idea of the cool kind of butchery practised by the Dutch in their Oriental expeditions. "Le 17 Août" (immediately before their re-embarkation) "on lia tous les prisonniers, on les conduisit à la "tranchée, et l'on cria aux assiégez que s'ils ne rendoient à l'instant "le déserteur,† on les massacreroit tous à leur vuë. La reponse

† A soldier who had deserted the preceding day.

From the top of the ramparts we had a fine view of the sea and the adjacent islands, and had the pleasure of seeing the Staunch and Marian standing into the harbour. The former was passing Trumpet-point, when the same questions, *pro formâ*, were put to her as to the Race-horse, notwithstanding the wind was so strong that there was not a possibility of getting an answer, and though the officers had just heard from us every thing required concerning them.

Having procured from the Marian my letters of introduction from Lord Caledon, I went on shore on the 28th to present them, and had a long conversation with the Governor on the subject of his Lordship's mission. He expressed his sorrow that nothing had yet been heard on the Mosambique side of Africa of Mr. Cowan or his party. He conceived it possible that they might penetrate as far as the neighbourhood of Zimbao, but that beyond this the very numerous rivers and the savage disposition of the natives would certainly render their advance impracticable. On this account he had sent letters to the subordinate settlements of Sena and Tête, to provide the travellers, should they arrive there, with a vessel to carry them on to Mosambique, where every means for proceeding should be afforded them; though he was still of opinion that all attempts to penetrate into the interior, from this side, would be attended with insuperable difficulties.

He added, that it had long been anxiously desired by the Portuguese government to form a communication with their western settlements, but all their efforts to effect it had failed. Some persons sent from the opposite coast, did indeed report that they had crossed far enough

" fut, que les Hollandois en useroient comme il leur plairoit, et que " s'ils maltraitoient leurs prisonniers, le Vice-roi useroit de repré- " sailles sur tous leurs gens qui pourroient être pris le long de la " côte—que quand ils auroient 100 Portugais, au lieu q'ils n'en " avoient que 34, il les laisseroit périr, plutôt que d'abandonner un " homme que s'étoit venu jetter entre ses bras, et à qui il avoit pro- " mis sa protection. *Sur cette réponse on cassa la tête aux prison-* " *niers à coups d'arquebuses.*" Le 18 l' armée fuit rangée en ordre " de battaille et en même tems *l' on brûla la ville;* puis on mar- " cha vers le bout occidentale de l'isle en *pillant* et *ruinant tout ce* " *qu'on rencontroit.*"

to see great waters, and boats like those on the Angola side, but that he believed that the conjecture of this being the eastern sea was totally unfounded. One of the governors of Sena, about seven years ago, undertook a journey inland, and advanced several hundred miles along the course of the great river Zambezi, but he had failed also in his endeavours to discover any connection with the western side. In this incursion he suffered great annoyance from the opposition of the natives. This gentleman is since dead, but the observations which he left are valuable, and in the hands of the Brazil government.

The Governor farther observed, that the little advantage actually to be derived from such an undertaking rendered the attempt scarcely worth the risk, as the articles of commerce are too much alike on either coast to bear the expense of carriage. In a geographical point of view, it certainly might prove interesting, but at that time he was too much engaged to enter into any plans of the kind, on account of the great disorder in which he had found affairs on his arrival. After the death of his predecessor, the Government fell into the hands of the Council, consisting of three persons. They had quarrelled among themselves, and the consequence was, that great confusion had prevailed in every department, and general discontent had arisen among the inhabitants. Innocent men had been imprisoned with the guilty, and every thing regulated by caprice and injustice. One case he shewed me, where a murder had been clearly proved against a soldier, for which another poor fellow had been since, without cause, negligently confined for five months. While this conversation occurred, we were walking in the government garden, which seemed to have been as much neglected as the government itself, containing nothing but a few cabbages, lettuces and capsicums, growing wild under the shade of some mimosa, papaw and pomegranate trees.

On the same day we dined at the government-house, with a large party of the principal inhabitants belonging to the Settlement. The dinner was well served, with great profusion of meat, dressed partly after the Indian, and partly after the European fashion. The rice, which came from Sofala, was small, but remarkably fine, and

the bread exceedingly white and excellent, owing to its being prepared with a small quantity of toddy, drawn from the cocoa-nut tree. In compliment to the English present, a toast was given during dinner to the health of His Majesty the King of Great Britain, at which time the company all stood up, and a royal salute was fired from the fort. We gave in return, the Prince Regent of Portugal, and a royal salute was fired from the Race-horse.

After dinner we retired to another apartment, where tea and coffee were set out in a splendid service of pure gold from Sena, of excellent workmanship, executed by the Banians resident on the island. The Governor, when in his official dress, wears a very costly and curiously wrought chain of the same metal, and, on state days, has two or three black slaves in attendanee, who appear almost overwhelmed by the pressure of the golden ornaments, with which they are encumbered, remnants of the splendour once attending these Viceroys of Eastern Africa. Upon the whole, the day passed away as pleasantly as can be imagined, without the society of ladies, whom it is difficult even to get a sight of in this Settlement.

On the ensuing day Captain Fisher and myself set out at day-break, with the Governor in his state-barge, rowed by native blacks, with paddles like the boats in India, on a visit to Mesuril, lying nearly at the bottom of the bay, about three leagues distant from the town, where the Governor has a country residence. The appearance of the house on the approach by water is extremely beautiful. It is situated on a high bank, at no great distance from the beach, with a small garden in front, forming a kind of terrace, from which a double flight of steps leads down to a grove of lemon, orange, citron, and papaw trees, which were at this time bending with the weight of their fruit. On its eastern side, and at the back of it, rises a thick forest of cocoa-nut, mango, cashew, (Anicardium occidentale) and other lofty trees, and on the western side is a flight of steps, leading up from the sea-side to the house. The house itself is not very large, consisting of one range of apartments only, almost destitute of furniture; but the agreeableness of the situation,

and the hospitality with which we were treated, left us nothing to desire, after the inconveniences of a voyage.

When breakfast was finished, the party set out on a shooting excursion, taking for the accommodation of such as did not prefer walking, one horse, a complete Rozinante, and three palanquins, as they are here termed, but which in India would be called *doolies*. These vehicles* are by no means so commodious for travelling as palanquins, from their allowing of one position only, and that not a very convenient one, the traveller being compelled to lie down at full length. They however compensate this defect in some measure, by being extremely light, so that, when rolled up, the whole of one vehicle may be easily carried by a single bearer. The poles are not formed of bamboo, but of an elastic wood, which grows in the country, and they are covered invariably with zebra-skin. The native bearers are very good, and for a short distance run as fast as the best in India, that is, at about the rate of five miles an hour. They are also particularly expert in changing their burthen from one shoulder to the other. If any one of the four be fatigued, he gives a signal to his companions, by tapping on the pole a certain number of times with his fingers, when one of those at the opposite end of the pole answers with a similar number, they then all give two taps in unison, and in an instant lift the doolie, still running on, from one shoulder to the other, without the slightest jolt being felt by the person whom they are carrying. This singular mode of communicating, as I afterwards found, is used for a variety of purposes, and the signals are distinguished by the manner, as well as by the number of the taps which are given. For about a mile from the house, the road ran through a continued plantation of cocoa-nut trees, interspersed with the huts of the inhabitants, as is commonly seen in India. The scene was indeed completely Oriental, and very much resembled the coasts of Ceylon, or some of the wilder parts of the Island of Bombay. On leaving the wood, the view opened on

* A similar vehicle is said to be in common use among the natives of Congo, of which a drawing is given in De Bry's Collect. Peregrinationum.

a country planted over with manioca, (Jatropha manihot *Linn.*) divided into squares, by rows of cashew and mango trees, which, being in full bloom, filled the air with their perfume. The heat was great, but not so intemperate as to prevent our enjoying the morning's amusement, though the Governor, and several of his officers, who had accompanied us, considered it too oppressive for them to take any part in our diversion. We saw very little game, but we met with a great variety of birds. Among them two species of merops, erythropterus and superciliosus, *Latham's Ind. Orn.* i. 271, were observed sweeping their course through the air; the certhias, famosa, *Ind. Orn.* i. 288, and senegalensis, *Ind. Orn.* i. 284, flew from plant to plant, their glossy plumage flickering in the sun, while the bright yellow of the oriolus monacha, *Ind. Orn.* i. 357, and galbula, *Ind. Orn.* i. 186, produced an agreeable relief to the dark green foliage of the mango. Wherever an orange or papaw tree was seen, flights of the chattering colius striatus, *Ind. Orn.* i. 369, allured by the fruit, were sure to make their appearance, and occasionally were heard the shriller notes of the Bengal jay, (coracius bengalensis, *Ind. Orn.* i. 168.) winging its way to some more distant plantation.

After travelling about three miles we reached a building situated in an inclosed area, which proved to be a manufactory of manioca, belonging to a Signior Montéro, in which nearly an hundred slaves were busily engaged, in preparing the roots for use. They are dug up, and brought to the place on asses, and in hackeries drawn by bullocks, of a large breed from Madagascar, and are then cleared from the dirt and rind, with rough scrapers, formed out of a large species of shell, (Helix terrestris) which is found in great profusion on the coast. After this process they are exposed to the sun, and, when sufficiently dry, are ground down as finely as possible, with a hand-wheel, edged with copper, and stuck round with spikes; this being completed, the pulp is put into large bags, and pressed with a heavy weight, and when all the juice is extracted, (which is said to be of a poisonous quality,) the mass is broken to pieces with the hand, and dried on copper-stoves, heated for the purpose, which reduces it to a wholesome farina. This, when mixed with water,

constitutes almost entirely the food of the slaves; and sometimes, though very rarely, owing to a certain degree of pride, is used in their soups by the Portuguese.

Behind the manufactory is a marshy pool of fresh water, which if turned to the purposes of agriculture, would in such a climate prove invaluable; but, to our surprise, we observed that no pains were taken to convey it over the adjoining lands, and that the expressed juice of the manioca, with every other kind of filth, being permitted to run into it, rendered it unfit for any other use whatsoever; an instance of gross negligence strongly characteristic of the indolence of the planters. A number of ducks and other wild fowl were seen swimming on the pool, which afforded us, as sportsmen, considerable amusement; among them may be mentioned Parra africana, *Ind. Orn.* ii. 764, and a species of Gallinula of a reddish brown colour which has hitherto not been described, the skins of which I have brought over to England. In the shallower part grew several beautiful water-plants, of which we with difficulty obtained specimens. The most remarkable of these were the Nymphea cœrulea *Hort. Kew.* ed. 2, Vol. iii., p. 294, Pistia stratiotes *Linn.*; and a new species of Æschynomene related to aspera, named by Dr. Browne, since my return, cristata.

On our return we passed through a fine estate belonging to Signior Guédez, one of the most respectable merchants in the Settlement, which appeared to be in better order than any of the others we saw on the peninsula.

In the afternoon we walked to the house of one of the planters, about a mile distant, in the village of Mesuril, for the purpose of seeing some native traders from the interior, of a nation called Monjou, who had come down with a cafila of slaves, (chiefly female) together with gold and elephants' teeth for sale. I was informed that they had been upwards of two months on their journey, having rested at times on their way; but that the distance they had travelled might be got over in about forty-five days. The Portuguese spoke of the country inhabited by this people, as being nearly half way across the continent, though from the enquiries I subsequently made, I have reason to think they were mistaken.

Some of the Monjou said, that they had been three months from home, others two, and another thought it might be accomplished in one and a half, allowing for days of rest. Now if we take the period even of two months, and reckon the progress made at fifteen miles per day, it gives on a rough calculation nine hundred miles only, which falls very short of the centre of the continent; moreover, I conceive the Monjou country to be situated in a north-easterly direction from Mosambique. They told me themselves that they were acquainted with other traders called Eveezi and Maravi, who had travelled far enough inland to see large waters, white people, (this must be taken comparatively) and horses. It is singular that the Monjou entertain a peculiar dread of the latter, running away at the approach of one of them, as from a wild beast.

The Monjou are negroes of the ugliest description, having high cheek bones, thick lips, small knots of woolly hair, like pepper-corns on their heads, and skins of a deep shining black. Their arms consist of bows and arrows, and very short spears with iron shafts. Their bows are of the simplest construction, being plain, strong, and formed of one stick; their arrows long, barbed and poisoned. Each man, besides his bow and quiver, carries a small apparatus for lighting a fire, which consists simply of two pieces of a particular kind of dark-coloured wood, one of which is flat, and the other rounded like a pencil. The latter held erect on the centre of the former is rubbed briskly between the palms of the hands till it excite a flame, which it does not require more than a minute to effect. A mode of producing fire similar to this is mentioned by Mr. Bruce, to have been practised by a tribe of Nuba, which he met with in the neighbourhood of Sennaar (Vol. vi. p. 345.) His whole description of the tribe accords so nearly with the character of the Monjou, that, as they are said to come from the mountains Dyre and Tegla, it may not be impossible that some remote connection once subsisted between them. To amuse us in the evening the slaves were assembled, and, according to the usual practice for keeping them in health, *permitted* to dance. The men first

began to the sound of the tom-toms, which the women beat with sticks, while others clapped their hands and sung in tones by no means inharmonious. Afterwards the women joined in with the men, and danced altogether in a circle, beating the time very exactly with their feet, and some of the younger girls moving with considerable grace.

I subsequently saw several dances of the same kind, in the slave-yards on the island of Mosambique; but on these occasions it appeared to me that the slaves were *compelled* to dance. I shall never forget the expression of one woman's countenance, who had lately, I understood, been brought from the interior. She was young, and appeared to have been a mother, and when constrained to move in the circle, the solemn gloom that pervaded her features, spoke more forcibly than any language, the misery of her forlorn condition.

If there be still a sceptic who hesitates to approve of the abolition of the slave trade, let him visit one of these African slave-yards, a short time before a cargo of these wretched beings is exported, and if he have a spark of humanity left it will surely strike conviction to his mind.

On this day, seven Portuguese vessels left the harbour of Mosambique for Goa, having on board, besides a large quantity of gold and ivory, about five hundred slaves, who were bought at this place at the price of ten, fifteen and twenty dollars a head, that is, women and children at about the rate of three and four pounds a piece, and able bodied men at the price of five pounds!! I feel happy in thinking that so nefarious a traffic has in this quarter already received a check from the British interference since the taking of the Isles of France, (vide last Report of the African Institution) and I trust it will ultimately be put an entire stop to: at all events, immediate steps ought to be taken to prevent slaves from being imported into those parts of India, over which any influence is possessed by the British government. Five ships loaded with slaves went this year to the Brazils, each vessel carrying from three to four hundred: it is considered a lucky voyage if not more than sixty die in each ship.

In the afternoon of the following day, (August 30) I paid a second visit to the house of the planter where the

Monjou traders resided, and I bought from one of them a bow and arrows, for a few beads, with which the planter supplied me, in consequence of the possessor of the bow refusing money, the value of which he did not seem to appreciate. I proceeded to amuse myself with my new purchase, which soon brought out some of the Monjou to see how I managed their weapons, and I persuaded them in return to give me a specimen of their skill. They were very expert in hitting a mark at about thirty paces, but in shooting at a long range, I found none that could cope with me, which I much suspect arose more from want of inclination than ability. The utmost distance that I could shoot with their bow, to any effect, was seventy-four paces.

In the cool of the evening, the planter took us to a kind of fair, held in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of bartering with the traders lately arrived. The articles displayed to tempt these simple savages, were very trifling, such as salt, shells, beads, tobacco, coloured handkerchiefs, and coarse cloths from Surat; a circumstance that strongly proves how artfully the Portuguese have carried on this species of traffic, otherwise they could not for so long a period have kept the natives in an ignorance thus suitable to their purposes. I was informed that, in the interior, the traders are still able to purchase for about the value of two dollars, in the above articles, either a slave, or an elephant's tooth from sixty to eighty pounds weight. This fair was superintended by a guard of the Portuguese native troops, under the direction of an Arab, whose grandfather came from Egypt, and, having rendered some important services to the government, had the command of a district given him with the title of Prince of Patta, which latter is still continued by the natives to his descendant, though the post he now occupies is merely equal to that of a sergeant.

On the 1st of September, preparations were made for the departure of the Racehorse and Staunch, and on the 2d they left the harbour, when I returned to the Marian, after having had the unpleasant task of parting with Captain Fisher, whose kind attention during my stay with him, had made my residence on board a ship singularly agreeable.

On the following day, the Governor very obligingly made me an offer of rooms, either on the Island, or at Mesuril, which latter I accepted, and on the evening of the 5th I went over and took up my abode there. The dawn of day, which is in all countries exhilarating, was here peculiarly delightful; the refreshing coolness of the air, the still calmness of the water, and the unclouded serenity of the sky, opposed to the oppressive heat, heavy atmosphere, and hot winds that often prevail after mid-day in this climate, produce from contrast a sensation of pleasure not easily to be conceived by those who have never visited a tropical country.

During the time that I stayed at Mesuril, I amused myself by making excursions into different parts of the peninsula, and in gaining information respecting the native tribes, and I generally found those I conversed with, who were chiefly native soldiers, not only willing, but anxious to gratify my curiosity. They are so unaccustomed to be treated with common attention by Europeans, that the poor fellows were grateful for the slightest civility I shewed them, and I often observed their eyes glisten with satisfaction, at any little inquiry I made respecting their mode of living, or their families: I must however remark, in this instance, to the honour of the Portuguese, that the situation of this class of men is generally comfortable; their pay, though not large, is amply sufficient for all their wants, and the duty which they have to perform is never laborious. The greater part of them were by birth Makooa, who had been made slaves in early youth.

The Makooa, or Makooana, as they are often called, comprise a people consisting of a number of very powerful tribes, lying behind Mosambique, which extend northward as far as Melinda, and southward to the mouth of the river Zambezi, while hordes of the same nation are to be found in a south-west direction, perhaps almost to the neighbourhood of the Kaffers, bordering on the Cape of Good Hope. A late traveller in that settlement, mentions them as a tribe of Kaffers, and says the name is derived from the Arabic language, signifying "workers in iron." In this he is surely mistaken, as the Ma-

kooa are Negroes, which the Kaffers are not,* and as there is no word in Arabic bearing such a signification. Still his notice of the name is satisfactory, as it tends to prove that such a people has been heard of by the Kaffers, which thus establishes the link of connection, between the tribes of the Cape and the Mosambique.

The Makooa are a strong athletic race of people, very formidable, and constantly in the habit of making incursions into the small tract of territory which the Portuguese possess on the coast. Their enmity is inveterate, and is confessed to have arisen from the shameful practices of the traders, who have gone among them to purchase slaves. They fight chiefly with spears, darts, and poisoned arrows; but they also possess no inconsiderable number of musquets, which they procure in the northern districts, from the Arabs, and very frequently, as the Governor assured me, from the Portuguese dealers themselves; who, in the eager pursuit of wealth, are thus content to barter their own security for the gold, slaves and ivory, which they get in return.

These obnoxious neighbours have latterly been quiet, but in their last incursion, they advanced with such a force into the peninsula of Cabaçeiro, as actually to oblige the Portuguese to quit the field. In their progress they destroyed the plantations, burnt the slave-huts, and killed or carried off every person who fell into their hands.† They penetrated even into the fort of Mesuril, and threw down the image of St. John, which was in the chapel, plundered the one adjoining the Government House, and converted the priest's dress, in which he celebrates mass, into a habit of ceremony for their chief. This occurred about three years ago, and most clearly evinces the very weak and precarious state of this settlement.

* This is allowed by all travellers. Mr. Barrow, from their colour, features and manners, considers the Kaffers as descendants of Arab Bedowee. In this I think him mistaken, as I believe them to be part of the *Æthiopian* tribes, of which an almost unbroken chain may be still traced from the borders of Egypt. Of these I shall have occasion to speak more fully in a subsequent part of the work.

† A similar incursion of these people is mentioned in Purchas, which happened in 1585. Vide Vol. II, page 1553.

The only force on an adequate scale, which the Portuguese have to oppose these marauders, is derived from the alliance of certain tribes on the coast, who speak the same language as the Makooa, but who early fell under the jurisdiction of the Arabs. These were conquered by the Portuguese, soon after the settlement of the colony, and were bound to render military service, besides the payment of a tribute in kind, which is now often commuted by the trifling present of a few limes. These tribes are ruled by chiefs, styled Sheiks, whose appointment depends on the Governor of Mosambique. Several of them are very powerful, and have extensive jurisdiction, but their support is not much to be relied upon, from their rarely acting in unison.

The principal chiefs among these are the Sheiks of Quintangone, St. Cûl, and the Sovereign of Sereima. The latter was at this time a queen, and much attached to the Portuguese, being then on a visit at Mosambique: she commands a large district, and can bring fifteen hundred men into the field. The Sheik of Quintangone is still more powerful; his district lies north of Mosambique, and he is said to command four or five thousand men, capable of bearing arms. His predecessor was for a long time at enmity with the Portuguese, and frequently committed great ravages in the peninsula of Cabaçeiro, which he entered by way of Soué Souâh. At length he fell into the hands of a Portuguese detachment, and was, by the order of the ruling governor, shot off from the mouth of a cannon, an example which was thought necessary to strike the neighbouring chieftains with awe. To the south of Mosambique lies the district of St. Cûl, which supplies about three thousand fighting men. The Sheik of this district died about a month before I arrived at Mosambique, and a successor had not been appointed, as the Governor did not feel himself sufficiently acquainted with the state of affairs, to sanction the person who had assumed that situation, without farther enquiry. Even the united force of these chiefs, is scarcely adequate to resist the furious attacks of the Makooa.

In addition to the bodily strength of the Makooa, may be added, the deformity of their visage, which greatly augments the ferocity of their aspect. They are very

fond of tattooing their skins, and they practise it so rudely, that they sometimes raise the marks an eighth of an inch above the surface. The fashion most in vogue, is to make a stripe down the forehead along the nose to the chin, and another in a direct angle across from ear to ear, indented in a peculiar way, so as to give the face the appearance of its having been sewed together in four parts. They file their teeth to a point, in a manner that gives the whole set the appearance of a coarse saw, and this operation, to my surprise, does not injure either their whiteness or durability. They are likewise extremely fantastic in the mode of dressing their hair; some shave only one side of the head, others both sides, leaving a kind of crest, extending from the front to the nape of the neck, while a few are content to wear simply a knot on the top of their foreheads. They bore the gristle of the nose, and suspend to it ornaments made of copper or of bone. The protrusion of their upper lip is more conspicuous than in any other race of men I have seen, and the women in particular consider it as so necessary a feature to beauty, that they take especial care to elongate it, by introducing into the centre, a small circular piece of ivory, wood, or iron, as an additional ornament. The form of the females approximates to that of the Hottentot women, the spine being curved, and the hinder parts protruding; and indeed, to say the truth, it is scarcely possible to conceive a more disagreeable object to look at, than a middle-aged woman belonging to a tribe of the Makooa.

Wild as the Makooa are in their savage state, it is astonishing to observe how docile and serviceable they become as slaves, and when partially admitted to freedom, by being enrolled as soldiers, how quickly their improvement advances, and how thoroughly their fidelity may be relied on. Among other enquiries, I was anxious to learn whether they entertain any notion of a Deity;—if they do, it must be an extremely obscure one, as they have no other word in their language to express the idea but "wherimb," which signifies also the sky. This remark is equally applicable to the Monjou, who in the same way apply the word "molungo," 'sky,' to their imperfect apprehension of the Deity.

The Makooa are fond of music and dancing, and are easily made happy with the sound of the tom-tom, yet, like all savages, their unvaried tunes and motions soon fatigue European attention. They have a favourite instrument, called 'Ambira,' the notes of which are very simple, yet harmonious, sounding to the ear, when skilfully managed, like the changes upon bells. It is formed by a number of thin bars of iron, of different lengths, highly tempered, and set in a row on a hollow case of wood, about five inches square, closed on three sides, and is generally played upon with a piece of quill. One of these instruments, which I brought to England, has twenty of these bars. There is another described in Purchas, that had only nine, which also differs in some other respects from the one I have just mentioned. As the description of this in old English is characteristic, I shall here give it to the reader.—"Another instrument "they have called also 'Ambira,' all of iron wedges, flat "and narrow, a span long, tempered in the fire to differ- "ing sounds. They are but nine set in a rew, with the "ends in a piece of wood as in the necke of a viole, and "hollow, on which they play with their thumbe nailes, "which they weare long therefore, as lightly as men with "us on the virginals, and is better musicke."

I have given in the Appendix a vocabulary of the language of the Makooa, to which, in a second column, I have added that of the Monjou, a people respecting which I have already furnished all the scanty information I had the means of obtaining.* It remains for me to remark, that the latter appear to be of a milder nature than the Makooa, but this impression I may have received from having seen their traders only. I have also given a few words taken from John Dos Santos,† who gives them as part of the language generally spoken at Zimbaoa, the

* I perceived that some of the settlers were extremely jealous of the attention I paid to the natives, and had not the Governor liberally assisted me, I should latterly have been scarcely permitted to speak to them.

† Vide Histoire de l'Ethiopie Orient: par C. R. Père Jean dos Santos. Paris, 1684. A translation from the Portuguese by G. Charpy.

capital of the Quitéve, or, as he is commonly called, the Emperor of Monomotapa.

On the 7th of September, the Governor came over to Mesuril, for the purpose of examining into the state of the peninsula of Cabaçeiro, and in the excursions which he made for this purpose, he, with great politeness, permitted me to accompany him. The settlement of Mosambique depends almost entirely on this tract of land for its supplies, excepting those which it draws from a few isolated spots cultivated by the Moors, at Loomb, on the opposite side of the bay. The peninsula is about eleven miles long, by four broad, and is connected to the continent by a neck of land about a mile across, called Soué Souâh, an Arabic term, importing the approximation of the sea on the two sides. Were there deep water on both sides of this isthmus, it would be easily rendered secure against any attack from the interior; but, unfortunately for the possessors, this occurs only to the north, while to the south extends a very broad sandy beach, which becomes dry at low water, and leaves a line of nearly four miles exposed to an enemy. To defend this, a fort is built on a projecting point, near the village of Mesuril, which occupies a considerable space of ground, and contains a chapel dedicated to St. John, above which rises an embattled tower with a gun upon it, commanding the works below. The whole of these are in a state of dilapidation, and are defended by a few rusty cannon only, which, to do any service, stand greatly in need of their patron saint's assistance. Indeed the situation itself is ill-chosen, and not calculated to answer the purpose intended, as at a much less expense, Martello towers might have been constructed across the whole line, and with this the Governor seemed so forcibly impressed, that he told me he would, if possible, carry the plan into effect, out of the ample materials which this fort might supply.

The village of Mesuril, from its vicinity to the Government-house, and the security which the fort was supposed to afford, has been the favourite spot for building among the settlers, and many good houses are erected there, which, however, must necessarily be unhealthy, from being situated in the midst of a cocoa-nut wood, where nature is suffered to lavish her bounty in all the

wild luxuriance of primitive vegetation. Similar to Mesuril, though on a smaller scale, are built the villages of Mapeita, Cabaçeiro, and Soué Souâh, in the neighbourhood of which plantations are laid out, like those I have before described belonging to Signor Montéro. A great part of the land still remains uncultivated, but it affords grazing to numerous herds of cattle, and sustenance to vast droves of swine, the breeding of which, from their being reared with little trouble, has been greatly encouraged by the inhabitants.

In our various excursions from Mesuril, we often stopped at the houses of the planters, to obtain refreshment, and we always found them, even when we were alone, civil and attentive, without requiring any payment for the articles which they furnished. The refreshments which they generally offered us consisted of fresh roasted manioca, and the liquor of the cocoa-nut; the former resembles in taste the flavour of a yam, and the latter, when the nut is about half ripe, affords a very cool and refreshing draught, particularly after the fatigue resulting from exercise in a hot climate. We saw only a few of their women, and, if those few may be considered as a fair sample of the ladies of the Settlement, I am afraid they do not possess many charms to suit an Englishman's taste, being in general thin, sallow, and much relaxed by the climate, with no small share of that inertness usually attendant upon a long residence, in countries situated under the tropics. They are very negligent in their persons, excepting on public occasions, and go without stockings, like the Dutch planters' wives in the interior of the Cape. They also resemble the latter in their taste for a pipe, which they smoke much at their ease; but are nevertheless lively, and have a fine flow of animated conversation.

The food on which the planters live is gross in the extreme, and to this in a great measure may be attributed the diseases which prevail. Great profusion of boiled meats, chiefly pork and beef, are laid on the table, and rude mis-shapen lumps of these are mixed together with vegetables on the same plate, without any of that attention to nicety, observable at the table even of the poorer classes in England; while all the other dishes are dress-

ed with a great quantity of oil, by no means remarkable for its purity. It appears to be the fashion to eat quick, and to drink pretty briskly while at table, and as soon as the cloth is removed, the company adjourn to a separate apartment.

As to the importance attached to the mode of taking our meals, it may be said altogether to arise from prejudice. The Hindoos with their solitary repast, the Arabs with their single dish, out of which they may be said to feed gregariously, and the Abyssinians with a joint of raw meat, all feel the same kind of satisfaction and pride in their respective methods, as the European does from the fancied superiority of his own. Conforming, as I have generally done, to most of these customs, I confess that I have felt almost as much repugnance to return to the tedious forms of an English entertainment, as I did to descend to the simple informality of these homely repasts; and possibly the irksome restraint of sitting in a constrained position for three hours, pampering the appetite with an accumulated succession of viands, may, with equal justice, appear to a savage quite as irrational, as his rude and unceremonious habits, to our more refined taste.

The Governor's household establishment forms a small society, in some degree independent of the old settlers; but in some degree only, for, owing to a most unpleasant practice, prevailing in the place, every person who can command a decent coat, takes advantage of the privilege to visit the Government House, about five o'clock in the evening, under the pretext of paying his compliments (as it is termed) to His Excellency, though, as I should rather presume, with the more immediate design of obtaining a cup of tea. Here many of them remain seated, not unfrequently without uttering a syllable, till so late an hour as nine o'clock. If the Governor remove to his country seat, it is esteemed a proper mark of respect to follow him, where the same custom is duly kept up, which, however absurd it may appear, has now been so long sanctioned by usage, that it does not allow of any escape from the persecution.

September the 8th being a festival, I attended the Governor and family to mass, in the chapel adjoining to the

house, where seats were placed in a gallery kept apart for the Governor's family and the Bishop. The latter had just returned from a shooting excursion, and was dressed (which appeared to us somewhat singular) in half boots and scarlet stockings. One lady only was present, who was habited very gaily, and had two black slave-girls to attend her. These, and a detachment of the native troops, whose conduct appeared to be extremely decorous, constituted the whole congregation.

After mass I had an opportunity of examining the body of the chapel: it was plain and neat, with a single picture of a saint on one of the sides, and a handsome altar-piece at the east-end, which on particular occasions is lighted up with a great profusion of tapers. Near the altar lay a solitary tomb-stone, with the following elegantly written inscription.

D. Annæ candidæ
Uxori suavissimæ
animæque dimidium meæ
D. Diego. De Souza,
Regis a concilio,
Et Africæ Orientalis prorege,
in sui amoris
et pietatis signum
M. H. C.
A. D. 1793—Die 17. Octobris.

The expression in this inscription of "Viceroy of Eastern Africa," deserves remark, as it is an appellation to which (though often assumed) the governor of this settlement is not at present entitled, his proper appellation being "Governador e Capitaõ General do Esto de Mosambique, Rios de Senà e Sofala."

At a short distance from this chapel stands a house allotted to the Bishop, where he generally resides, belonging to the order of St. John De Deos, which has a monastery on the Island of Mosambique, now used as an hospital. It is a singular ordination imposed on the order, that the superior of it must be chosen out of the serviteurs. There were at this time only two monks in the monastery.

In the afternoon of the 9th, we crossed the isthmus of Soué Souâh, and visited a village bearing the same name,

where two Arabs, styled princes, were in waiting to pay their compliments to the Governor. The little respect paid to these royal personages, together with their want of attendants, shews the degradation to which they are now reduced, and strongly evinces the folly of the Portuguese in having ever conferred such titles. We returned in the evening by torch light, through a wild jungle, and as the bearers of our palanquins tossed their torches carelessly about, they set fire in many places to the long grass underneath, which, burning like a stream of wild-fire, threw a bright glare of light among the trees, that produced a very singular and striking effect. After our return, the Banians gave a nautch to the Governor, performed by two Indian girls, which seemed to afford amusement to the spectators, perhaps from their not having witnessed the superior mode in which these dances are conducted in India.

On the 10th I paid a visit to the Bishop, early in the morning, who, on my arrival at his house, was absent on a shooting excursion. The furniture of his rooms, in the mean time, afforded me no slight entertainment. Four cages containing different species of singing birds were fixed to the walls, and over the doors of the bed-rooms, two beautiful prints of St. Cecilia were suspended opposite each other, to which two English prints, one representing Cupid disarmed, and the other Cupid revenged, served as companions. A short time afterwards, the Bishop returned with his gun in one hand, and two partridges (perdrix rubricolla) and several turtle doves, which he had shot, in the other. He was booted as usual, but still wore the holy badge of his profession, a splendid diamond cross that hung sparkling in the folds of his waistcoat. As he was aware of my wish to collect the rarities of the place, he made me a present of the partridges, and also of a large sucking fish of a species not yet accurately described,* which had just been brought in by a fisherman; all the Portuguese gentlemen, whom I conversed with on this subject, agreed in

* It answers very nearly to the description of the Echineis Neucrates by Dr. Shaw, but the bars on the heads of many specimens, which I subsequently examined, differed from twenty-four to thirty-six in number, and their tails were invariably crescent-shaped.

assuring me that fish of this kind were employed on the coast in catching turtles. The mode of doing this is by confining the fish with a line to the boat, when it is said invariably to dart forwards, and to attach itself by its sucker to the lower shell of the first turtle found on the water, which prevents its sinking, and enables the fisherman to secure his prey. The reason for this fish fastening on the turtle, is supposed to be done (as the Bishop observed) with a view to self-preservation, and its strength is so great, that, when once fastened, the turtle very rarely is known to escape.* This account appears to me somewhat extravagant, and almost incredible, but it sinks into nothing when compared with the tales told by Pliny of another species of the same fish; among which, that of "its stopping a galley, rowed by four hundred men, conveying Prince Caius to Antium," is not the least remarkable, though it was an occurrence that struck all the spectators, as he confesses, with astonishment—hence its Latin name of Remora. (Vide C. Plinii Nat. Hist. L. XXXII. cap. i.)

On the 11th, we left Mesuril, and returned to Mosambique by the way of Cabaçeiro. On our road we observed several trees of a curious species, called Malumpava, (a species of Adansonia,) which seems to expend its powers of vegetation in the trunk, and might, from its bulk, not unaptly be called the Elephant tree, as it sometimes measures full seventy feet in circumference, though it bears few leaves or branches in proportion. I measured one of the above magnitude, growing in a remote thicket, under which I had previously observed with some surprise, several human skulls and bones, with two or three small drinking vessels, lying on a rude kind of couch. The Portuguese could give me no explanation of this singular fact, but I conjectured that the place was used as a burying-ground by some of the natives; it being a custom with the Kaffers, (vide Mr. Barrow's Tra-

* I was not aware, until after I had written the above, that this method of fishing had been noticed by Dr. Shaw; he mentions it (p. 209. Vol. IV. Part i.) on the testimony of Count de Cepede, from a manuscript of Commerson—a circumstance that tends at least to prove the universal belief of the fact among the Portuguese.

vels) and other nations in Africa, to expose the remains of their dead in this manner. The following passage, which I have since met with in Purchas's Collection, satisfactorily confirms my conjecture. Speaking of a tribe of natives on this coast, his author says, "When any of "them die, the kindred friends and neighbours assem-"ble and bewail him all that day in which he dieth, and "the same day lay him on a mat or seat (a kind of rude "couch) where he died, and if he had any cloth, bury "him therein, otherwise naked. They make a hole in "the desart, and set by him a vessel of water and a little "maise to eate and drinke in his journey to the other "life,* and without more ceremonies cover him with "earth, and lay on the hole the mat, or chaire on which "he was brought to burial, where they consume without "any more respect, although they be new—for they hold "it ominous to touch that seat on which one died.—The "Christians there were as scrupulous of the mats or "chaires of their slaves deceased; but I bestowed them "on the fire or water, and they besought me of charitie "to forbear lest some evils should befal them from the "dead."

At Cabaçeiro stands an excellent house, belonging to a Signor Aranjo, who at this time was very prudently engaged in surrounding it with a high wall, as a protection against the Makooa. The shore on the side of the bay is flat, and intersected by a great number of sandy creeks and inlets, which are left dry at low water: these I repeatedly visited in search of sea productions, and I never met with so great a variety on any other coast. The star-fish and sea-flowers were particularly beautiful, and of many exquisite colours. Sponges too, of several curious sorts, were common, and the sand was besides loaded with muscles, crabs, and other shell fish; while in the shallow water various species of sea priapi were found, and different sorts of molluscæ, some of which, though beautiful to the eye, could not be preserved, as they soon dissolved on being exposed to the sun, or when

* The American Indians about Lima have a precisely similar custom, and a gentleman resident in London, possesses some of the vessels used on such occasions.

immersed in spirits. A great number of slaves, men, women, and children, were always seen at low water, engaged in collecting shell fish, and the produce of their labour constitutes their chief means of subsistence. The appearance of these figures at night, moving along the beach by torch light, formed occasionally a very interesting scene, and, when the moon was seen obscurely through the trees, and the torches, waved to and fro, were reflected by the waters, an unusual and almost magical illusion was produced.

Some of the fishermen use wicker baskets, resembling our eel-baskets, which are left a little beyond low water mark during the flow of the tide, and on its retiring they seldom fail to furnish an ample supply of small fish. It may be worthy of remark, that this mode of fishing is mentioned in the Periplus as having been practiced at Rhapta; but from the practice being general along the coast, it affords no clue, (as Dr. Vincent expected it might,) to fix the site of that place. The species of oyster, caught on this coast, is that known by the name of the Hammer oyster, and it is said to yield pearls of considerable value; yet though we opened a considerable number, we could never discover the slightest trace of any.

Where sea productions are numerous, one may generally expect to meet with a great variety of birds; the beach was accordingly covered with flamingoes, spoonbills, herons of a large kind, curlews, snipes, and sandlarks, besides several species of sea-gulls.

CHAPTER II.

Historical Account of the Mosambique Settlements—Ignorance of ancient Geographers respecting the Coast—Early Account of it by an Arabian author—Subjection and expulsion of the original Settlers, and establishment of the power of the Portuguese—Their attempts to subdue the Interior baffled by the prudence and vigilance of the Natives—Attack upon these Settlements in 1589 by the Muzimbas, (supposed to be Galla)—Failure of every effort to convert the Natives to the Catholic Faith—Description of the present state of the Settlements on the River Zambezi—Quilimanci—Tete—Senà—Manica, and the Gold Mines—Mode of carrying on Trade with the Natives in the Interior—Jurisdiction of the Portuguese along the Coast—The former-supposed importance of these Settlements—Their gradually decreasing consequence—Their present degraded State. The discouraging prospect from their external connections—An Account of the Maratis or Pirates of Madagascar—The uncommon ferocity of this People—Their Excursions against the Comoro and Querimbo Islands—Consequences of the English abolition of the Slave Trade on the Commerce of Mosambique—Its present Trade, &c.—Departure of the Marian for the Red Sea.

BEFORE I quit this Settlement, I shall give a short abstract of its history, to which a few remarks on its present situation may with propriety be subjoined, and this, I hope, will not be trespassing too far on the attention of the reader. Previously to the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, and the arrival of the Portuguese in the Eastern seas, the knowledge possessed in Europe, respecting this coast, was extremely unsatisfactory, being almost entirely drawn from the vague accounts of Ptolemy, and the obscure notice of it in the Periplus of the Erythrean sea, a fact that appears evident from a curious map, now before me,* which is entirely built on those authorities, and retains all their errors. The Arabs, it is certain, had for centuries before been intimately conversant with both its ports and their value, having established settlements on several points of the continent, and some of the islands adjacent, that gave them the

* Tabula quarta de Africà in Geographiâ di Fancesco Berlinghieri Fiorentino—published, according to J. C. Brunet in his Manuel de Libraire, in about 1480.

complete command of its resources, and its commerce; but their accounts of it were at that time unknown in Europe, and even those, with which we have since become acquainted, are most of them, like the general mass of Arabian geography, short, confused, and written with a very inaccurate knowledge of the actual, as well as relative, positions of the countries described.

The following early description, by one of their most celebrated writers, Zaneddin Omar ibn l' Wardi, is the most interesting I am acquainted with, and as it has never before (to my knowledge) been translated, may be acceptable to the reader. I am enabled to give it through the kind assistance of a friend, who made it out from three copies of the "Kheridat al ajaieb wa feridat al goraieb," written by the above author, which I brought over from Arabia.

"The land of the Zinji lies opposite to that of Sind; "between the two intervenes the breadth of the Sea of "Persia. The inhabitants are the blackest of the negro "race. They worship idols, are brave, hardy and fight in "battle riding on oxen, as their country supplies neither "horses, mules, nor camels. Massoudi* says, 'I have seen "their oxen kneel like camels, to be laden, and they "travel as fast with their burthens.' Their habitations "extend from the extremity of the gulph, (supposed "Gardafui) to the low land of gold (Sofala 't il Dhab.) "This country is extensive, and abounds in gold, grain, "and the treasures of nature, and their towns are popu-"lous. Each town lying adjacent to the branch of a ri-"ver. Snow is not known among them, nor rain, which "is commonly the case with the greater part of the coun-"try of the blacks. They have no ships, but traders "come in vessels from Ummaun, to buy their children, "whom they sell in different countries. The Zinji are "extremely numerous, though deficient in the means of "carrying on war. It is said that their king goes forth "to battle with three thousand followers, riding on oxen. "The Nile is divided above their country, at the moun-"tain of Muksim. Most of the natives sharpen their "teeth, and polish them to a point. They traffic in

* This Author wrote his work on geography, in the 336th year of the Hegira. (Biblioth. d'Herbelot) A. D. 948.

"elephants' teeth, panthers' skins and silk. They have "islands in the sea, from which they collect cowries to "adorn their persons, and they use them in traffic one "with another, at an established rate.* Adjoining to "these lies the land of the Dum-a-dum." (Here we certainly have a description of the Galla.) "It is situat-"ed on the Nile, bordering on the Zinji. The inhabi-"tants are Infidels, and the Tartars among the blacks, "consisting of savage tribes of free-booters, who con-"tinually take captive and plunder every thing that falls "in their way. In their country the river divides; one "branch going towards Egypt, and the other to the "country of the Zinji.† Sofala 't il Dhab adjoins the "eastern borders of the Zinji. It is an extensive dis-"trict, and mines of iron are found in it, which the peo-"ple of the country work and sell to the traders from "Ind, who give a high price for it, on account of its be-"ing harder and of better temper than that which they "obtain in their own country, and they purify it and "make it into steel, which admits of a durable edge. "The natives themselves also make swords of it, and "other offensive weapons. The most remarkable pro-"duce of this country is its quantity of native gold "that is found, in pieces of two or three Meskalla‡ "weight; in spite of which, the natives generally adorn "their persons with ornaments of brass."

From this extract, it appears that a direct trade from India to the coast was very early established, and that the former country was supplied with iron from Sofala, a circumstance somewhat strange, but by no means incredible, as plenty of iron is still to be met with in the interior; and several of the northern tribes of the Kaffers, are at the present day known to have considerable skill in working this metal.

* The greater part of the above description is still applicable to the negro tribes residing on the coast.

† By this I conceive is meant the Nil l' Mugdesso (or river of Magadasho,) which takes its rise from the same chain of mountains as the Abaid or Nile of Egypt.

‡ This is probably the Metigal, by which they still weigh the gold at Mosambique; it contains 108 grains avoirdupois.

When the Portuguese in the * beginning of the sixteenth century, examined the coast, they found the whole of it in the undisturbed possession of the Arabs; but the fame of the gold mines, and the convenience of the ports, as resting places for the Indian trade, shortly induced them to drive out, or reduce to subjection, these original settlers. Their superiority in arms enabled them speedily to accomplish this object. In 1505-6, they gained by treachery, permission to establish the Fort of Sofala. About the same time they conquered Quiloa, and there erected a fort; and in 1508 (Vide Marmol, p. 129, ch. xxxvi.)† established the one I have described, on the Island of Mosambique. They also proceeded to encroach gradually on the Mahomedan possessions in the river Zambezi, which led to the gold marts in the interior; and in 1569, or thereabouts, they completely cleared that river of the Arabs, by putting to death, or, in plainer terms, murdering all those that remained, on an unproved charge of having attempted to poison some Portuguese horses; though the real cause appears to have been, that, as they were proceeding on an incursion into the interior, they did not dare to leave them behind.

To follow any European settlers through the scenes of bloodshed and injustice, by which they have established their foreign possessions, is an ungrateful, and disgusting task. It will here be sufficient to observe, that, in the atrocity of the means which the Portuguese used to attain their purposes in the East, they were not behindhand with the Spaniards in the West. Their success, however, was by no means parallel. The natives of Africa were not tame enough, like the feeble inhabitants of South America, to crouch at the feet of an invader, or to yield their country without a struggle. On the contrary, they from the first undertook, and maintained a kind of warfare, which, if not always successful, at least deserves to be so. They fought, and they retired. They left their towns and their plantations a prey to the devastations of

* The discovery was in 1497-8; but they did not attempt an establishment till several years afterwards.

† It is by mistake in Purchas (vol. ii, page 1534.) stated to have been erected in 1558; but this cannot be correct, for L. Barthema (vide his journal) saw it building in 1507.

the foe, but, the instant he relaxed from the pursuit, or rested on his arms, they returned with redoubled vigour to the attack, and made him pay dearly for his ravages. This prudent system of defence, saved their country from being overwhelmed; and the Portuguese in repeated expeditions to get at the mines, which formed the main object of their pursuit, were invariably foiled.

The most daring of these attempts was undertaken at the immediate command of Sebastian the First, in 1570, by Francis Baretto, who for this express purpose was made Governor-General of Mosambique.* In the first instance he fitted out from Sofala a formidable armament, with the design of penetrating into the country of Chicanga, and getting possession of the mines of Manica, in order to reach which, it was necessary for him to pass through the dominions, and close to the capital, of the Quitéve,† or chief ruler of the intervening districts, whose power extended in a line across from Sofala, to the angle made by the turn of the river Zambezi.

This country is commonly called Monomotapa, in the accounts of which, a perplexing obscurity has been introduced, by different authors having confounded the names of the districts with the titles of the sovereigns, indiscriminately styling them 'Quitéve,' 'Monomotapa,' 'Benemotapa,' 'Benemotasha,' 'Chikanga,' 'Manika,'

* This account is chiefly taken from Marmol, and J. Dos Santos, but represented in a very different point of view; the last writer is the grossest adulator of the court, and dignifies every exploit of Baretto with most undeserved encomium.

† Vide a description of this sovereign, and the manners of his subjects, in the Histoire de l'Ethiopie, par Jean Dos Santos; à Paris, 1684, p. 38, and Purchas, Vol. II. p. 1537. In many respects they appear to resemble the Abyssinians. The king, as a mark of distinction, wears a singular kind of horn over the forehead. If a prince be in any way mutilated, he is considered as unfit for the crown. The inhabitants celebrate, after the death of their monarchs, a festival called 'pemberar,' very much resembling the 'toscar' of the Abyssinians, both of which end in riot and debauchery. They are very curious in the various modes of dressing their hair, like the Abyssinians. Their mode of hunting is similar. They are governed by head-men, holding a jurisdiction independent of the king: their mode of trial is summary; and when they purchase their wives, they carry them home upon their shoulders without stopping, as is always customary in Abyssinia, presents being made to the bridegroom on the occasion, by his companions.

'Bokaranga,' and 'Mokaranga,' &c. The fact appears to be, that the sovereign's title was Quitéve, and the name of the country Motapa, to which Mono has been prefixed, as in Monoemugi and many other names on the coast—that beyond this lay a district called Chikanga, which contained the mines of Manica, and that the other names were applicable solely to petty districts, at that time under the rule of the Quitéve.

This monarch immediately collected a force to oppose Baretto's progress, and to prevent his reaching Chicanga, lest the king of that district, who was his declared enemy, should join with the Portuguese. Having, however, in two or three skirmishes found the decided inferiority of his troops, he adopted the wiser resolution of retreating before the enemy, annoying him in his march, and destroying the plantations, to prevent their affording sustenance to his pursuers; and at last, when the Portuguese approached his capital, the Quitéve retired into a neighbouring forest, "abandoning instead of defending," as the Portuguese insist he ought to have done, "the dwellings of his people." At the same time his subjects, who knew the country intimately, cut off a great number of the straggling soldiers.

Baretto, greatly annoyed by this conduct, and the total evacuation of Zimbaoa, burnt it, and continued his march to Chicanga, the king of which was at that time a Mahomedan. He received the Portuguese with apparent attention, as they abstained from all acts of hostility, and professed themselves friends; yet, though he promised them access to his dominions, for the purposes of trade, he at the same time gave them little satisfaction respecting the mines, as is evident from the attempt to cover their disappointment by the assertion, "that the "risk and labour attending the procuring and cleans-"ing the gold, rendered it unworthy of their notice." Thus baffled in their main pursuit, and having lost a great number of men,* it was time to make their way back,

* In Pory's History of Africa is the following remark: "this "armie, which was so terrible to a mightie monarke, was in five "daies consumed by the *intemperature of the aire*, which is there "insupportable to the people of Europe." It may admit of a question, if this were not an *epidemical disease?*

which they were fortunate enough to effect by patching up a treaty with the Quitéve, *in which they agreed for the future to pay a tribute of two hundred pieces of cloth annually, for a passage through his dominions.* Such was the end of what J. Dos Santos calls "the glorious expedition of the great Baretto, whose actions so much excite the envy of nations."

The second expedition was of a similar description, but still more disastrous in its termination.

It was undertaken from the settlement at Senà, on the river Zambezi, against the Mongas, whom I conceive to be tribes of the same people I have described under the name of Monjou. I am led to this conclusion, not only from the similarity of the names, but from the resemblance of the native language given by J. Dos Santos, to that of the Monjou in my vocabulary, a circumstance that also makes me incline to believe it not improbable, that the same language may be spoken throughout all the dominions of the Quitéve. The Mongas, after a severe conflict, were in the first instance defeated, owing to their reliance on the incantations of an old woman, pretending to the character of a sorceress, who led them on to the combat, and who unluckily was killed by a cannon ball in the first onset, a circumstance so agreeable to the views of the Portuguese general, that he rewarded the gunner with a golden chain from his own neck. The result of this hard-gained battle, was a truce, by which the Portuguese were to be allowed free admittance into the country. This enabled them in some degree to examine the interior, and for the first time they passed the forest of Lupata,* which they foolishly named "the spine of the world," on account of "the high and terrible rocks by which it is environed, that appear, as well as the trees, to stretch their heads into the clouds." From this probably exaggerated description, sprung that formidable chain of mountains, which has ever since ornamented the maps of Eastern Africa, furnishing a remarkable instance of the ill effects, that may arise from a name originally being misapplied.

* There is a curious account of this in Purchas, Part II. 1547.

From Lupata the Portuguese advanced eastward, in hopes of reaching the silver mines of Chicova, and, as they confined themselves during this march to the line of the river Zambezi, they met with little opposition, the natives having, as before, retired to the woods. Still all their search after the valuable commodity they looked for proved fruitless, and their leader was at last, as it is said, ingeniously outwitted by one of the natives, who hid some silver in the ground, and persuaded the Portuguese it was a mine. Soon afterwards, being unable to maintain a large force in the country, they retired to Senà, leaving two hundred men in a new fort constructed at Tête, with positive orders not to give up the enterprise until the party had discovered the object of their research. All trouble, however, on this head was unavailing; for the whole detachment, together with its unfortunate leader Antony Cardosa d'Almeyda, was drawn into an ambuscade by the natives, and cut off to a man.

Since this period the Portuguese have been compelled to act chiefly on the defensive, and to content themselves, like their predecessors the Arabs, with carrying on the trade in a more quiet way, keeping up their influence in the country by setting the native powers in opposition to each other, and confining themselves solely to the coast, and the line of the river Zambezi.

To maintain even these they have had several severe struggles, particularly in the years 1589 and 1592 (Purchas, Part II. p. 1554, and Hist. de l'Ethiopie, p. 141,) when they were attacked on the northern bank of the Zambezi by an inroad of a wandering and ferocious tribe of Muzimbas,* who appear at this time to have been passing by on their progress from the south-west. The

* They are elsewhere called Mauruca, and their king "Gallo," (Vide Purchas, Part II. Book ix. p. 1552) and these may be recognized in the Maracata, a tribe of Galla in the neighbourhood of Mugdasho. The Muzimbas are accused by some of the Portuguese writers as being cannibals. That raw flesh is the common food of these Galla is certain, from various instances that have been witnessed at Bombay among the slaves taken in French vessels; but of their being cannibals there remains no satisfactory proof, no more than of their idolatry and witchcraft, with which they have been equally charged by the same writers.

description which is given of this people and of many of their customs, of their activity, roving disposition, mode of warfare,* and particularly the direction which they subsequently took, lead to the conclusion that they were tribes of Galla; for the last account we have of the Muzimbas states, that they reached Quiloa in 1593, and thence passed on to Melinda, where they were stopped by a tribe of natives called Mossequeios, and the first we hear of the Galla is at Patta, where they were seen by Jerome Lobo in 1625; and it was about the same time, that they made from that point, their first inroad into Abyssinia.

The endeavours of the Portuguese to introduce the Catholic religion into the country, proved as abortive as their schemes of conquest; for, though, by the daring enthusiasm of a fanatic named Peter Gonsalvo de Sylva, they gained in 1571 (Vide Pory's Africa, p. 414) access to the court of the Quitéve, and made an impression on the mind of that sovereign, yet shortly afterwards the Mahomedan traders gained the ascendency, and De Sylva himself fell a martyr to the cause he had espoused. As to the numbers stated to have been baptized, it will be found, I fear, that the Portuguese priests, too often made nominal instead of real converts; and that their motives proceeded rather from an idle vanity of extending the list of their proselytes, than from any actual desire to benefit the individuals whom they pretended to convert.†

The above short account contains a summary of all that I conceive material to be known respecting the establishment and progress of these settlements; the follow-

* They in all probability first introduced the savage custom of mutilating those whom they had killed in battle, which is still retained by the Galla. Of this an extraordinary plate is given in Du Bree's Collection.

† J. Dos Santos asserts, "that in the four years he staid at Sofala, he baptised 1694 persons; and the Dominicans are said to have baptised 16,000 in the Querimbo Islands, besides 20,000 on the Cuama or Zambezi. The Jesuits boast of having baptised three times this number in Japan; but I fancy the converts of both must have greatly resembled the Dutch Christians in Ceylon, who acknowledged to Mr. North, that though they had faith in Christ, they still believed in Boudah!"

ing description of the present state of the Zambezi, and the Portuguese possessions on its banks, may not unaptly conclude this portion of my narrative. Great part of it is taken from a paper, drawn up by a learned Portuguese, who within a few years visited the country, and the remainder is derived from information given me by the merchants at Mosambique, which, from its general agreement with the geographical information contained in a valuable map,* composed from the best authorities by Mons. D'Anville, may, I think, in a great degree, be depended upon for its accuracy.

From the Island of Mosambique a vessel in favourable weather may sail along the coast to the port of Quilimanci, at the mouth of the Zambezi, in three or four days. This port is dangerous to approach without a pilot, as it can be entered only at high tide, during the setting in of the sea-breeze, on account of two sand banks, in front of the anchorage, which form a double bar, and render the navigation extremely hazardous. The anchorage lies in front of the small town of Quilimanci, which is situated on the main land a few miles up the northern bank of the river, where there is a dépot for merchandize, and a small Portuguese garrison stationed. Here the vessels transfer their cargoes to pinnaces, and boats called pangayes, on account of the river being navigable only for vessels of a light draught.

After sailing up the river about five leagues, the water becomes fresh and the current rapid; alligators of a large size are frequently met with, and the sea-horse is found within the limits of the salt water. At the distance of thirty leagues from its mouth, the river widens considerably, and another branch strikes off more to the southward, called Luabo, which is at present little frequented, on account of the difficulties of its navigation. This branch is said to have been formerly more frequented, than the Cuama, (Vide Purchas, Part II, 1544,) but such changes constantly occur in rivers subject to tropical rains.

* This map is to be found in the French Edition of Jerome Lobo's Travels, and it is far superior to any other I have seen of the same tract of country.

From the branching off of the Luabo to Senà, it is about thirty leagues, making the distance of that place from Quilimanci about two hundred and forty-seven English miles, which in the most favourable season, may be accomplished in ten or twelve days. The whole course of this part of the river is much intersected with islands, some of which are inhabited, and some occasionally overflowed in the rainy season, by which their positions become changed, as in the Ganges, forming new channels for the direction of the stream. The left bank is in possession of the Portuguese, and the right is inhabited by independent native tribes.

Senà is a considerable town on the southern bank of the river, containing altogether about two thousand inhabitants. It is protected by a strong fort, and is governed by a commandant, who at present receives his appointment direct from the Portuguese Government. He commands all the minor establishments on the river, but is himself subordinate to the Governor of Mosambique.

The chief mart for gold in the interior is at Manica, about twenty days journey south-west from Senà, where an annual fair is held, to which the traders resort with their merchandize. The first part of their journey lies through a country under the influence of the Portuguese, and the remaining part of it comprises districts in the hands of native tribes, which the traders are obliged to conciliate by frequent presents. A tribute also still continues to be paid to the Quitéve, for his permission to carry on the trade; for which purpose an annual deputation is sent from Senà to his capital, Zimbaoa,* where the tribute is laid in great form, at the feet of the Prince sitting in full state.

Two different methods of procuring the gold are practised by the natives; the first consists in digging for the ore, which is attended with great labour, and at present said to be seldom adopted; and the other in collecting from the beds of torrents, the sand that contains the gold, and separating it by frequent washings: in the latter way a considerable quantity is still annually accu-

* Zimbaoa is reported to be fifteen days west from Sofala, and about forty days from Senà.

mulated, though it seems to be rapidly decreasing, for in 1593, the Governor of Mosambique, George Menzes, collected for himself and the Viceroy of India 100,000 crusades,* and I do not believe that one-third of this amount is now, altogether annually produced.

The country around Manica is extremely fertile, and yields abundance of provisions and cattle. It is very mountainous, and supposed to lie at a great elevation above the sea, the weather at times being unusually cold for the latitude in which it is situated. Frequent storms of thunder and lightning occur, which are attributed by the Portuguese, to the immense quantities of metallic substances with which the country abounds. The trade is here carried on by barter, and the goods most valued are Surat cloths, beads, coarse silks, and iron; and the returns, besides gold, consist of ivory, ghee, and a small quantity of copper.

From Senà it is about sixty leagues further up the river to Tête, but the navigation is much more dangerous and tedious, than that from Quilimanci to Senà. About half way up is situated the pass of Lupata, formed by two impending mountains of black rock, which seem to threaten instant destruction to the passenger, the river in this spot being so narrow that a child may throw a stone from one side to the other. In the mid-stream a large rock just rises above the water, called Capucho, on which many boats are lost, owing to the rapidity of the current. The northern bank and country from Senà to Tête, remains to the natives; while the Portuguese assume the jurisdiction of the southern country, though they confess that a little to the eastward of Lupata lies a kingdom called Jambara, abounding in provisions, and yielding a great quantity of ivory, which is governed by a powerful sovereign who despises their authority. Beyond, towards the west, extend the districts of Mussangani and Tipui, which are, in like manner, equally independent. Close to Tipui are situated the village and fort of Tête, where a dépot is kept for merchandize, and this is considered by the traders as the best regulated settlement on the river. Here the Governor of Senà

* Purchas, P. II. 1536.

generally resides, and the Portuguese territory exists on both sides of the river.

The principal mart in the interior, frequented from this point, is that of Zumbo, at which place the Portuguese are allowed a small factory by the permission of the natives. The journey to this place from Tête requires nearly a month to accomplish, the first fifteen days being employed in travelling, by land, to a place named Chicova, on account of certain falls in the river called Sacumbe: at Chicova it is necessary to embark again in small shallow boats, and in this way to proceed to the station of Zumbo, whence the traders send out their agents in different directions, who in return for their goods bring back gold, ivory, and other valuable articles. Of the country beyond Zumbo no information could be obtained.

From the foregoing accounts it will appear how extremely confined the knowledge of the Portuguese has always been respecting the interior,* which satisfactorily accounts for the extraordinary inaccuracy of all their writers, and their want of agreement, on the subject.

The jurisdiction of the Portuguese, along the coast, has on the contrary, been always extensive; in the heighth of their power it reached from Socotra, on the north, to the Cape of l'Agoa, on the south, comprehending the islands of Zanzebar, Quiloa, and other important settlements, which have been since recovered by the Arabs, and are now subject to the Imaum of Muscat, whose power and consequence has greatly increased of late years, owing to the protection and encouragement of the Bombay government. It still extends from Cape Delgado on

* The following passages from Marmol (p. 113) and Lafitau's Conquestes des Port. dans le Nouv. Monde, may serve to convince the reader of this fact; the first begins his account of these countries thus: "Sofala est un grand contrée sous la domination d'un "Prince Négre que l'on nomme Bénamotapa ou Bénamotacha.— "Ce pais commence à la frontière de Congo," &c.—The second says, "l'empire du Monomotapa ou Bénomotapa comprend une "grande partie de la basse Ethiopie, depuis l'empire des Abyssins "jusques au cap de Bonne-Esperance, nord et sud; et depuis la "côte de Zanguebar jusques aux païs des Négres et Royaumes "d'Angole et de Congo est et ouest!!" Such has been the information on which our maps of Africa have generally been constructed.

the north, to Inhambane on the south, embracing an extent of thirteen degrees of coast. The most southern settlement on this line is at Cape Corrientes, where a small fort is established, which was taken possession of by the French in 1808; but the influence of the Portuguese with the surrounding natives soon compelled them to abandon it. There is another small fort at Inhambane, and both these establishments are annexed to Sofala, and kept up for the purpose of collecting ivory, which the neighbouring forests abundantly supply. Sofala itself is a miserable village; but the country around is extremely fertile, and furnishes considerable quantities of rice, oranges, and many exquisite fruits to the inhabitants of Mosambique. These establishments, and others of a smaller description at the mouth of the Luabo, on the Island of Fuogo, at Angoxo, and on the Querimbo islands, are all that now remain of what was once proudly termed the Sovereignty of Eastern Africa.*

It appears evident, from the preceding observations, that the consequence and value of this Colony has always been greatly over-rated. Still, during the prosperity of the Portuguese monarchy, it was of real importance to that nation. It furnished very large supplies of gold and ivory, and though it never returned much, if any immediate profit† to the crown, yet it served to enrich a great number of individuals, whose wealth ultimately reverted to the state. It afforded a valuable place for the Indian ships to touch at in the earlier stages of navigation, which was then absolutely requisite, and it supplied all the eastern, and some of the western dominions of the Portuguese with slaves.

There exists at present only the mere shadow of its former splendour, which without difficulty may be traced to the weak and disturbed state of the mother-country, the loss and decline of her eastern possessions, and the impolitic manner in which the Settlement itself has for a

* I have seen a Portuguese silver dollar, on which was inscribed —"Rex Portugalis et Dom. Orientalis Africæ."

† Vide Don de Menzes' "tractate on the Portugal Indies," in Purchas, Part II. p. 1522, a very valuable document relative to the Portuguese eastern possessions.

long time been governed.* The two first causes having most materially affected its trade and relative value; and the last having degraded its consequence, broken its connections with the neighbouring tribes, and reduced it to a state scarcely capable of resisting the attacks of the undisciplined barbarians in its neighbourhood. A cursory review of the government, its population, internal and external connections, will clearly elucidate this statement.

The Governor of Mosambique is assisted in his office by a council, consisting of the Bishop, the Minister, (as he is here termed) and the Commandant of the troops. The regular salaries of all these persons, and their subordinate officers are inconceivably small. The Governor receives 12,000 real crusades only, or about 750*l.* sterling:† the Bishop 1500; the surgeon-general 960; a captain 720, and a lieutenant 300, or the pitiful allowance of 18*l.* 5*s.* per annum. One simple fact will shew the perfect inadequacy of these salaries to the proper maintenance of such officers: the Governor's cook gets at this time fifty dollars per month for wages, besides his provisions and a bottle of wine per day, which, as may be observed, is more than treble the pay of a captain. Hence has arisen the too frequent practice of tolerating certain abuses, such as selling the inferior commands, of keeping a nominal instead of an effective force, and in fact of winking at every species of injustice.

Even with men of high feeling, it is to be apprehended that a system of this nature might have had no small influence on their integrity; what then could be expect-

* Mr. Brougham, in his Colonial Policy, very correctly observes, that "the treasure and blood of the metropolis was wasted in wars "with the native powers, and the relations of commerce were on "every occasion postponed for those of conquest and dominion. "The consequences of these circumstances have been fatal to the "Portuguese dominions in the East." (Vol. I. p. 466.)

† Though I received the account of the above salaries from the best authority, I could not help doubting their accuracy, until I met with a confirmation of them in an official document before referred to, in which it appears that the Governor's salary was in 1584 only 261*l.* 5*s.* and a soldier's pay in this fortress about 7*l.* 10*s.* per annum. At this time the government of Mosambique was already separated from that of India.

ed, when we regard the description of persons usually sent out to these settlements? With the exception of the Governor and his staff, the rest have been mostly culprits exiled for transgression. The place being so unhealthy, and bearing so indifferent a character, that very few people of respectability would volunteer their services. To maintain themselves when they arrive, they are obliged to enter into speculations with the native traders and planters, whose chief employment consisting in the nefarious traffic of dealing in slaves, renders them not very scrupulous about the means of obtaining wealth.

The great encouragement given to this trade, which constitutes one of the principal perquisites of the Governor, has also contributed greatly to the degradation of the Settlement, from its having rendered the planters vicious, indolent, and careless of improving their property. Had a more enlightened policy been pursued, and the cultivation of the land more closely attended to, the proprietors might have now seen prosperous villages rising round them, inhabited by free settlers, and have possessed an export of cotton, indigo, sugar, and other valuable commodities, instead of being surrounded by wretched assemblages of slave-huts, woods of cocoa-nut trees, and unprofitable plantations of manioca.

The two distinct classes above-mentioned, consisting of European Portuguese, and of native planters descended from the old settlers, may be estimated at about five hundred with their families. Next to these may be enumerated the descendants of the old Arab settlers and the Banians; the former are mostly engaged in a sea-faring life; and the latter are in general petty traders, or mean artizans.* Both together may amount to about eight

* The following passage from Captain Weatherhead's Journal is admirably characteristic of this people—"They are a very unpleasant people to trade with, especially for an European unaccustomed to their manners. They will offer about half the value of an article at first—then examine into every particular of quantity and quality—go away—return and offer a little more—and so continue to proceed till their conduct becomes almost unbearable. When they do make a purchase they generally take the whole quantity to secure a monopoly. Several of them agreed for goods; but as I would not let them be taken away without payment, they never were sent for, being, as it appeared, wanting in funds, which is a general complaint on the island."

hundred in number. The remainder of the population, consisting of free blacks, and native soldiers whom I have before described, may, in addition, amount to about one thousand five hundred. The necessity of employing the latter arose from the small degree of reliance to be placed on the services of Europeans, whose free mode of living and debauchery soon rendered them in this climate incapable of active exertion. It is even said, that not more than seven soldiers out of a hundred survive after a service of five years; and that nearly the same proportion holds good with respect to the civilians, who go out to the Colony from Europe.

It may be easily conceived how inadequate such a promiscuous population must be to the improvement, or even defence of the Settlement. As to the neighbouring tribes before described, which acknowledge the Portuguese jurisdiction, it may be doubted whether they add more to its safety or its danger. In fact, as the Portuguese themselves confess, it is only on the ignorance of their enemies that they rely for security, and upon this no great dependance is to be placed, for the Arab traders, whom I met with at Mocha, seemed to me pretty intimately acquainted with the true state of affairs at Mosambique, and one of them, named Hadjee Sâlee, even declared "it was so miserably weak that, with a hundred stout Arabian soldiers, he would dispossess the Portuguese of the Colony." I tried to convince him that the situation of things would be very different under the new governor; but he shook his head and persisted in his opinion, observing that "it was too far gone to be reclaimed."

The external connections of this colony were unfortunately at this time as discouraging as its internal relations. The war with France had been already productive of the most disastrous consequences. In 1808, a French privateer took possession of one of the adjacent islands, at the season when the coasting vessels come up from Quilimanci and Sofala, and captured almost every Portuguese boat employed in the trade, which proved a serious loss in a country where wood is scarce, and where the industry requisite to remedy such a disaster is wanting. This kind of warfare would probably have been

continued during subsequent years had it not been for the conquest of the Isles of France and the protection thereby afforded by British cruisers.

Another enemy about the same time also made his appearance on the side of Madagascar, which, though deficient in the means of equally annoying the Settlement, had notwithstanding done it considerable mischief. This foe consisted of a nation of pirates on the north-east point of Madagascar, called by the Portuguese, Sekelaves, but whose real name I have reason to believe is Marati,* which for many years back has been known to infest the Comoro Islands.† The following account by Captain Thomlinson, extracted from his journal, gives a very interesting and forcible description of the melancholy situation to which their incursions have reduced the wretched Johannese.

"June, 1809. The people of Johanna are the most courteous and inoffensive I have ever met with, tendering every assistance to strangers, and with the greatest fidelity and honesty executing any commissions intrusted to their care. They have lately been much reduced by the natives of Madagascar, who annually invade the island for the purpose of procuring slaves, which they sell to the French. The other islands, Comoro, Mohilla and Mayotta, are nearly depopulated from the attacks of these marauders, and at this time Johanna from twelve towns is reduced to two. These pirates come over at the latter part of the south-west monsoon, build huts round the towns, which are walled, and remain blockading them until the latter end of the north-east monsoon, which occupies a period of eight months, as they never attempt the passage but with a fair wind.

"I have seen one of their canoes, which was about forty-five feet long by ten or twelve broad, ingeniously put together upon a construction very similar to that of

* This I learned subsequently from the Arabian traders. The Sekelaves, I was informed by Captain Fisher and others who visited that part of the island, are subjects of the Queen of Pembetoc, residing on the north-western side of Madagascar.

† Vide "A Voyage from England to the Red Sea, by Austin Bissell, R. N., 1798-9; published in 1806 by A. Dalrymple at the expense of the East India Company."

a whale boat, and joined by wooden pegs driven into both edges of the planks. The plan adopted by this people is to send every fifth year upwards of one hundred canoes, with from fifteen to thirty-five men in each, armed with muskets, while during the other four years, they dispatch not more than thirty, on account of the want of provisions they might experience, and with a view to leave time for the plantations to be restored to their usually flourishing condition. The King told me that during the siege last year nearly two hundred women and children died from hunger, owing to their not daring to go outside the walls for provisions, and that many of the women actually eat their own children.

"The town of Johanna, called Sultan's Town, has, in different parts of its walls and in a fort on the hill close behind it, upwards of fifty guns mounted, though in a wretched state. The King keeps in his possession papers from Admiral Renier and Blanket, requesting captains of ships of war to assist them with powder and arms. Their chief reliance for a supply of these articles is on the Governor and Council of Bombay, who last year sent them in an Arab boat 40 half-barrels of powder, 80 muskets, and one iron six pounder, 1500 flints, and 2000 musket-balls. A French cruiser unfortunately fell in with this boat, and plundered it of every thing, except the muskets and six half-barrels of powder. It is my opinion that the whole of these islands will in a few years become desolate, unless they receive more effectual assistance. It deserves particular notice, that, though this people has been plundered of the greater part of its cattle by these savage enemies, who destroyed those for which they had themselves no occasion, they nevertheless keep the few which remain for the use of the East India Company's ships, never killing any for their own consumption, it being expressly prohibited by the King, who looks up to the Company as his only friends."

The facts above mentioned appear to me to constitute strong grounds for an appeal to the generosity, I had almost said justice, of the English nation, and I cannot help expressing a sanguine hope that the cause of the poor Johannese may not be much longer neglected; for while we are in possession of the Isles of France and the

Cape of Good Hope, the expeditions of their cruel enemy might, I conceive, be readily put a stop to.

Encouraged by their success against the Johannese, the Marati last year actually ventured across the channel and took possession of one of the islands of Querimbo, destroyed the houses, burnt the cocoa-nut groves and plantations, and killed every inhabitant that fell into their power. Their force is said to have consisted of about one thousand canoes, (which number, however, is probably exaggerated,) each containing about thirty armed men.

Nothing can be more terrible than the character which is attributed to these marauders. They carry cresses like the Malays, from whom possibly they may be descended, and exhibit in their attacks a degree of ferocity that can scarcely be exceeded. Their enmity is not peculiarly directed against the Portuguese, for their maxim is universal warfare. A French ship in 1807 was cut off by them, on her passage to the Isle of France, and not a single person escaped from their barbarity. A medical man of some distinction, with his son, from Mosambique, fell victims on this occasion.

Notwithstanding the success they met with on their expedition to the Querimbos, yet they did not quit the coast without suffering for their temerity. The inadequate provision made for their voyage, and their want of skill in navigation occasioned the death of numbers, and the small-pox which they caught on the coast became also a just instrument of retribution, leaving scarcely half of them to return to their chief at Madagascar. Yet this event, as might have been expected, did not discourage them, and they continued to threaten a repetition of their visit; being daring enough to declare that the island of Mosambique itself should be the next point of attack. Information of this was obtained from four prisoners taken by a Portuguese brig of war, after an engagement with six of their canoes, in which the Marati fought with such desperation that these four only were captured alive. The fort of Mosambique is too strong I conceive to fear the assaults of such an undisciplined rabble, but on any other part of the coast they might occasion infinite mischief.

The abolition of the slave trade by the English has been another severe blow to the trade of Mosambique. The whole supply of the Cape, of the Isles of France and of Batavia was formerly derived from these settlements, and many of the Indian ports afforded a ready sale for cargoes of this description; besides a very considerable number of these unfortunate creatures was carried over by American, and sometimes, even latterly, by *English ships* under American colours, into our West India possessions. The whole of these sources are now cut off by the strict adherence of our cruisers in this quarter to the subsequent laws of the abolition.

Nothing therefore remains to Mosambique except the limited trade with India and the Brazils; the former is still lucrative. Ivory, gold, and slaves always find a ready market at Goa, Diu, and Demaun, and four or five vessels annually come from these places with cloths, cotton, teas, and other Eastern produce. The trade to the West is chiefly confined to slaves, which are carried as well to the Spanish as the Portuguese possessions in that quarter, and in return nothing but specie is received.

The number of slaves annually exported from Mosambique is said to amount to more than 4000. The duty on each of these is sixteen and a half crusades. The Portuguese traders for a long time were charged only eight, but they are now obliged to pay at the same rate as the foreign trader. All other exports are exempt from duty. The duty on imports is charged in the following proportions: 2½ per cent. is imposed on all the specie brought into the country, one per cent. of which goes to the general revenue, and the remainder to the Governor. Other imports pay twenty per cent. ad valorem, to which may be added one and a half per cent. custom-house charges, forty dollars for pilotage, and the maintenance of two custom-house officers on board each ship trading in the port, to whom it is usual to pay besides one and a half crusade per day. These charges, with fees to secretaries, &c. may be computed altogether to amount to twenty-five per cent.

The few following remarks on the trade, which may enable the reader to form a tolerably correct, though not

a very favourable estimate of the commerce of Mosambique, will conclude my account of this Settlement.

By the advice of one of the principal merchants, Captain Weatherhead opened a store soon after his arrival, and landed samples of his goods, consisting of iron bars, gunpowder, pistols, blunderbusses, hard-ware, broad cloths, muslins, Cape wine and brandy, and some small bottles of scented waters. The government bought the whole of the two first articles, the former at three dollars and a half per arob of 32lbs. English, and the latter at thirty-five Spanish dollars per barrel. The rest of the articles, except the Cape wine, brandy, and broad cloths, met with a very slack sale, which Captain Weatherhead in a great measure attributed to the departure of the annual fleet* for India having taken place, which had drained the traders of the greater part of their ready money. He seemed notwithstanding to entertain the opinion that a small cargo might be disposed of to good advantage, in the months of April, May and June; and in his Journal he remarks: "the articles most suitable would be iron in bars, lead, powder, shot, iron-hoops, cutlery, stationary, prints and framed pictures, a small quantity of household furniture, printed cottons for sophas, silk and cotton stockings for ladies and gentlemen, shoes and boots, waistcoat-pieces of different patterns, light plain muslins, blue cloth, coarse and fine, a few telescopes, some salt butter, hams and cheese, and in short a little of every article necessary for comfort in use among the Portuguese."

The price of goods for exportation appeared to be very exorbitant. The merchants demanded for their ivory from twenty-six to thirty-two dollars the arob, which on a rough calculation made the price of the first quality amount to 24*l.* and the second to 21*l.* 15*s.* per hundred. Columbo root was four dollars per cwt. and gold dust about 3*l.* 5*s.* the ounce avoirdupois. A considerable number of an Arabian breed of asses is reared at Mosambique for exportation, which thrives remarkably well; these animals are generally sent as presents to the Brazils, but when sold they fetch a high price.

* The India fleet generally arrives at Mosambique early in April, and returns in August.

The exchange at Mosambique is chiefly regulated by the current value of the Spanish dollar, which fluctuates from three to four per cent. according to the state of the markets.

The articles required by our ships were found in abundance, and to be bought at a moderate rate. Bullocks, in good order, were to be had for fifteen or twenty dollars; pigs for eight dollars the arob; goats for five dollars each, and fowls at the low price of one dollar the dozen. A number of Guinea fowls were also brought to the ship for sale, and they proved excellent stock. Three species of this bird are common at Mosambique; the Numida meleagris, mitrata, and cristata; the last is a most beautiful bird, being more variegated in the plumage than the others, and having a black crest of feathers on its head, from which it derives its specific name. Sheep appeared to be scarce, and were charged ten and fifteen dollars each. Water was furnished at one hundred gallons per dollar, and fire-wood of a superior quality, which answered also extremely well for dunnage, was delivered on board the ship at eight dollars the boat-load. His Majesty's ships were supplied with water gratis, out of tanks constructed on a magnificent scale, and situated on the south end of the island, belonging to the Government.

Fahrenheit's thermometer, during our stay, varied from 86° to 89°, and the weather was uniformly fine.

September the 14th and 15th were engaged in making preparations for our departure; and on the last day the Governor sent me a bullock, three dozen fowls, and a large quantity of fruit as a parting present. On my taking leave afterwards, which I did with some regret, occasioned by his friendly treatment, he gave me an official letter to the Governor of the Islands of Cape Delgado, to secure us a good reception, should we by chance find occasion to touch at any of the possessions under his command: on the 16th we departed for the Red Sea.

CHAPTER III.

Voyage along the Coast—Account of the Islands of Zanzebar and Pemba—Sterile and uniform appearance of the Coast above Mugdasho—Soundings to the southward of Cape Bassas—Description of the Capes d'Orfui and Gardafui—Excursion on Shore near Somauli Point—Remarks relative to this Voyage, as applied to the Theory respecting Ophir by Mr. Bruce. Arrival at Aden—Observations respecting that place—its Ruins—ancient Towers—Aqueduct, &c.—Plan to render Black Bay safe against an Enemy—Journey to Lahadj—Interview with the Sultan of the Country—Description of his Territory, and Character of its Inhabitants—Return to Aden. Singular Effects of the Atmosphere produced by Refraction. Character of the Banians. Voyage from Aden to Mocha—Residence at the Factory—Abstract of occurrences in Yemen since 1805—Preparations for Abyssinian Journey—Deputation of Mr. Stuart, in the service of the African Association, to Zeyla, with the intention that he should proceed to Hurrur and Efat—Departure from Mocha for the Abyssinian Coast.

AS the track from Mosambique to the Red Sea is little known, I have been induced to give a nautical journal of our passage as far as Aden, and particular care has been taken to mark the variation of the compass, (which was regularly observed whenever occasion offered,) on account of the existence of similar observations made on the same coast as early as the year 1620,* in order that, from a comparison between the different remarks, the change that has taken place in the variation may be ascertained.

On the 16th of September, we sailed from Mosambique at day break, and stood out from the land until twelve o'clock, when we steered a regular course N. by E. with the intention of keeping in a direction parallel to the coast. At noon the latitude observed was 14° 30′ S. the wind blowing fresh from the southward, with a heavy sea from the S. S. E. the variation 22° 20′ W.

On September the 17th, we continued the same course; the weather remaining extremely mild, and the wind veering round a little to the eastward. In the course of the day we met with a strong current setting to the south-

* Vide Beaulieu's Voyage to the East Indies.

ward, at the rate of thirty miles in twenty-four hours, Lat. at noon 12° 37′ 30″ S., Long. per chron. 41° 24′ E., Ther. 78, Var. in the morning 22° 2′, in the afternoon 20° 2′ W.

September 18. Being anxious to get a sight of the land, in order to determine its position, we bore towards it in the afternoon, and at sunset made Cape Delgado, distant seven leagues, bearing S. W. when from our reckoning we concluded that the coast from Mosambique is in most charts made to incline too much to the eastward, and this remark is confirmed by a valuable chart of this part of the coast, copied from one lent me by the Governor of Mosambique, which on my return to England I presented to the Admiralty. This chart comprehends a complete survey, from Mosambique Harbour to Cape Delgado, embracing the whole of the Querimbo Islands, on an extended scale of twenty-seven inches to a degree. It was taken at the expense of the Portuguese government, by a colonel of engineers, whose name I have now forgotten, and it carries the appearance of being extremely accurate. A few valuable remarks are annexed to it respecting the rivers, the depth of water, and other subjects interesting to nautical men. I have employed it in my general chart of the coast. Lat. at noon 10° 26′ 30″ S., Long. 41° 45′ E., Therm. 77, Var. in the morning 20° 0′, in the afternoon 19° 2′ W.

September 19. Our course was this day N. b. E. In the afternoon, we saw a great many medusæ and other species of molluscæ floating by the sides of the vessel. Lat. at noon 8° 6′ S., Long. 41° 54′ E., Therm. 78, Var. A. M. 18° 30′, P. M. 19° W.

September 20. We had this day a strong current, running one mile and a quarter per hour in our favour, Lat. at noon 6° 1′ 30″ S., Long. 42° 31′, Therm. 79, Var. P. M. 16° W., the wind S. S. E. to S. E.

September 21. Lat. 3° 43′ S. course N. 28 E., Therm. 79, Wind S. S. E. to south; no current.

September 22. Lat. at noon 1° 19′ S., Long. 44° 54′ E., Therm. 79, Var. A. M. 12° 0′, Wind S. S. W., Current setting N. E. half a mile an hour.

September 23. Lat. at noon 1° 2′ 30″ N., Long. 46° 0′, Therm. 79, Var. A. M., 8° 30′ W. The wind S. to

S. S. W., current running 1¾ mile per hour in our favour. At four P. M. we saw the land situated between the towns of Brava and Magadoxa, (by the Arabs termed Berawa* and Mugdasho,) extending from west ½ south to north-east. The nearest point was distant about six leagues, bearing N. W. by N. and appeared to be a sandy hill. The whole coast was moderately high, barren, and sandy with an irregularly swelling outline that had no remarkable points by which it could be particularized. We sounded with seventy-five fathoms of line, but found no bottom.

At this time we had passed the deep bay, as it may be justly termed, in which are situated the islands of Monfia, Zanzebar and Pemba. It was our intention to have visited these, but the season was so far advanced that it was deemed necessary to make the best of our way to Aden before the change of the monsoon should have taken place; for when the northerly monsoon has once set in, which it does in about the month of October, there is no possibility of beating up against it. This circumstance was proved by the ships under Admiral Blanket in 1798-9, which, though some of the best in our navy, were completely baffled in attempting it. (Vide Captain Bissell's Voyage to the Red Sea.) The fleet left Johanna on the 11th of November, 1798, and did not get round Cape Gardafui until the 8th of April, 1799. "It is to be hoped," Captain Bissell observes, "nobody will ever attempt it again; we were forty weeks on this voyage, and ran 18029 miles."

I much regretted at the time the above-mentioned deviation from our plan; but, as I collected in the course of my voyage many particulars concerning these islands, it compensated in some degree for the disappointment of not visiting them, and, as they are very little known, I shall venture to lay before the reader a short account of their present condition.†

* "The town of Brava makes a respectable appearance on the sea side, and on one of the small islands in front of it stands a light-house of a tolerable height. Its position is 1° 12′ and 44° 10′ east." (Captain Bissell's Journal.)

† My information is derived from a paper given me by Lord Caledon, from the journals of the Commanders of the Caledon and

The Island of Zanzebar is about forty-five miles in length, and fifteen in breadth. It has an excellent harbour on the western shore abreast of the town, with good anchorage in ten fathoms water, which is capable of holding a great number of vessels in perfect security throughout the year, owing to an extensive range of surrounding shoals, which break the force of the sea in every direction. The island is difficult of approach on account of a very strong current running in its neighbourhood, against which Captain Thomlinson, attempting to beat with a leading wind, lost twenty miles per day. The eastern shore is bold and woody, and as the hills seldom rise to any great elevation, the sea breeze holds an uninterrupted course over the island, which renders the climate tolerably healthy, notwithstanding its vicinity to the equator.

The inhabitants are Mahomedans of Arab extraction, under the rule of a Sheik, appointed by the Imaum of Muscat, to whom the jurisdiction of the island belongs, which was said in the years 1807-8 to have yielded a revenue of from thirty to forty thousand Spanish dollars per annum, arising almost entirely from an extensive trade carried on with the Isles of France, Madagascar, and the Arabian Gulph. The exports consisted of slaves, gums, ivory, antimony, blue vitriol, and senna; and in return, the French supplied Zanzebar with arms, gunpowder, cutlery, coarse Indian cloths, and Spanish dollars. Dows or grabs of two hundred tons burthen are built on the island, which is well calculated for a small naval station, as the ebb and flow of the tide in the harbour exceeds twelve feet.

The Sheik has under his command about one hundred native troops, chiefly employed in the regulation of the police; but the island is said to be in a very defenceless state. It is well wooded, plentifully supplied with water, and abounds in excellent pasturage. The only grains cultivated are juwarry and rice, which, as in Arabia, form the principal food of the inhabitants. Other provisions are very abundant. An ox sells for only five dollars, a

Racehorse, who visited Zanzebar in this same year; and from the accounts of two Arab traders who had frequented the islands.

sheep for half a dollar, fowls are extremely reasonable, and a constant supply of fish is found in the market. Captain Bissell remarks in his Journal: "Here you can obtain many kinds of refreshments, but, as the governor or chief made a monopoly of the sale of all kinds of articles, we paid exorbitantly dear for them. The inhabitants sell their things much cheaper. We got very fine bullocks, goats, poultry, rice, dholl, cocoa-nut oil, &c. Their fruits are very *delicious*, and they have *all kinds*." The provisions supplied to the fleet during its stay at Zanzebar amounted to about 2500 dollars. (Vide, for a more particular account, pages 35-6 and 7, of the same work.)

The Island of Pemba is low and about fourteen leagues long, and is represented to be still more fertile and woody than Zanzebar. Captain Fisher spoke in terms of rapture with respect to its aspect, climate, and resources. Its chief has long been desirous of putting himself under the protection of the English, and the offer was actually made to the Bombay Government. Should we retain the Isles of France, which our interests in India seem to demand, I should think this offer might prove worthy of the attention of the British Government, as, connected with these islands, it might prove a valuable settlement, from its affording a considerable export of corn and cattle. These articles hitherto have been carried to Zanzebar, to supply food for great numbers of slaves, which are generally kept ready for exportation on that island.

The situation and state of Monfia are at present absolutely unknown; though it is said to resemble the others in fertility.

September 24th.—At three in the morning we were alarmed with a violent rippling in the water, resembling the noise of breakers, which probably proceeded from the meeting of two currents; for on heaving the lead, we found no bottom with seventy-five fathoms of line. In the morning the water began to change its colour, and at nine o'clock A. M. we found ourselves in thirty-two fathoms, sand and shells, with the land distant about three leagues and a half, and at ten we gained soundings of twenty-two fathoms, on a shoal running off from the coast. At eleven we were again in deep water, and at

twelve we passed the point of Doaro, which stands out distinguished from the main land like an island. The line of the coast had hitherto taken a NE. ½ E. direction, and thence it appears to decline more to the northward. At four we again had soundings in twenty-two fathoms, which gradually lessened to nineteen, at which time we were about four leagues from the land, the appearance of which continued uniformly uninteresting, sandy, and barren. The wind was fair and the weather mild.

In the evening, we observed the sun before it set put on a very unusual appearance. At the moment of emerging from a dark cloud, when its disk touched the horizon, it seemed to expand beyond its natural dimensions, became of a palish red hue, and assumed a form greatly resembling a portion of a column. This is one of the many singular effects produced by the refraction of the atmosphere, common in this part of the world; and something of the same kind may have given rise to the extraordinary appearances of the heavenly bodies mentioned by Agatharchides, to have occurred at the mouth of the Red Sea (καὶ τὸ σχῆμα δὲ ᾗ δισκοειδὲς ἔχειν τὸν ἥλιον φασὶν, ἀλλὰ κίονι παχεῖ τα γε πρῶτα ἐμφερῆ, &c.*) which have been too hastily discredited by succeeding writers. Our latitude at noon was 4° 53′ 30″ N., long. 49° 0′, therm. 78, var. P. M. 5.53 W. Current one mile and a half her hour, setting to the N. E.

September 25th.—We lost soundings in the morning off Cape Bassas, where the land for a short time appeared somewhat loftier, but continued to preserve the same uninteresting aspect. In the afternoon the atmosphere became hazy, and the wind freshened.

September 26th.—Lat. 8° 0′ N., long. 50° 0′, therm. 78° at noon: in the evening it fell to 68°, when the weather became extremely cold to the feelings; var. 5° 0′.; wind S. W. At one o'clock in the afternoon, when distant about five leagues from the land, we met with a shoal of dead fish, many thousands of which lay floating on the surface of the water, and we continued to pass through them about five and thirty minutes, sailing at the rate of two leagues in the hour. Many of these fish were of a

* Agatharchidis quæ supersunt. Oxoniæ, 1597.

large size, and of several different species, chiefly of the genera sparus, labrus, and tetrodon. They bore the appearance of not having been long killed, from the freshness of their colour and the redness of their gills. The atmosphere continued hazy, and a heavy dew fell in the night.

September 27th.—Lat. 10° 13′ 30″ N. at noon; long. 51° 19′, therm. 80°, var. 4.33. The wind blew fresh from the south-west during the night, and in the morning land of considerable height appeared at no great distance, which proved to be Cape Delaqua, and soon afterwards we came in sight of Cape d'Orfui. The bay between these two Capes is so deep, that we could not discern the land at the bottom as we passed across it. The form of Cape d'Orfui resembles that of an island with a bluff point towards the sea, and it is backed by lofty and singular-shaped mountains. Admiral Beaulieu anchored under this Cape during a heavy storm, in July 1620, and attempted, but in vain, to have communication with the natives. The anchorage he describes to be in latitude 10° 1′. The variation of the needle was at that time 17⅔ west, which is 13° more west than we found it to be.

This part of the coast is inhabited by the Mijertayne Somauli, commanded by a chief, styled Sultaun Hussan. The Imaum of Muscat some time ago sent presents of considerable value to this tribe, and solicited permission to build a small fort on the promontory of d'Orfui (called by the natives Hafoon;) but a compliance with his request was very prudently declined, and the presents rejected. This anecdote was communicated to me by a member of the tribe. By a good observation at noon, we ascertained the lat. of d'Orfui to be 10° 30′ 30″ N., its long. 51° 12′ E. In the evening we passed another shoal of dead fish, which had become white and putrid. An occurrence of this nature is extremely rare, especially in deep water, and I cannot in any way pretend to account for it.

At ten in the evening we came abreast of the land behind Gardafui, which, owing to a slight haze in the atmosphere, appeared prodigiously high. Sailing on with a fresh breeze, we came up at midnight with the Cape itself, and passed within half a mile of it. The moon

glittering on the water, the boldness of the promontory, the sea breaking on the beach, and the lofty mountains in the back-ground changing their aspect every moment as we swept rapidly round the point, united to the awful stillness which prevailed on board the ship, rendered the scene strikingly sublime. Its effect on my mind was also greatly heightened by the recollection of my former voyage, which seemed to familiarize the objects in sight, and made me appear as if surrounded by old acquaintance. Scarcely had we got round the Cape, when the wind deadened, and the air, as is usual here, became sensibly warmer. This Cape is situated, by our observations, in lat. 11° 50′ and in long. 51° 22′ east from Greenwich.

September 28.—At day-light in the morning we found that, notwithstanding the breeze had continued during the night, we had scarcely made any perceptible progress, owing to a rapid current which headed the ship, and occasioned a strong rippling in the water. Our efforts during the whole day, indeed, put me strongly in mind of the clown in the pantomime, moving his legs constantly forward without making any actual advance. The same marks on the shore remained the whole day abreast of us; the same points of land a-head, and to add to the irksomeness of our situation, the heat became intense and scorching, though the thermometer never exceeded 89°. As the moon changed on the 23d, about which time the current set against us, it should seem to favour the idea expressed by Dr. Vincent, in his observations on this part of the coast, that the current runs out of the gulph during the wane of the moon, and in, during its increase. Lat. at noon 12° 5′ N., long. 51° 15′ E., var. 4.33.

September 29.—We had just wind enough during the night to enable the ship to stem the current, and in consequence we found ourselves at noon in the same position. The thermometer was 90° at mid-day, yet the heat was by no means so oppressive as on the preceding day, a circumstance which may be accounted for by our having become in some degree more accustomed to it. Nothing indeed more depends on relative comparison, than the effects of heat and cold on the human frame; for I have observed that it often feels as oppressive when the

thermometer is at 85°, as when it exceeds 100. In the evening, being about five miles only from Somauli Point, and in forty-one fathoms, we determined to go on shore. We found gradually decreasing soundings as we approached the land, and three fathoms water close to the beach, which renders the landing unpleasant; for, in spite of the fine weather, we experienced a surf that completely wetted us through in getting out of the boat. We met with few objects on shore worthy of observation. The herbage was scanty, the soil sandy, and much impregnated with salt; and at no great distance from the coast a lagune extended inland over a flat plain, which from the distant view we took of it, appeared to be covered with trees. This lagune abounded with wild fowl, and on the borders of it stood birds of a species called by the Arabs Abou Hannes, which is the true ibis of the Egyptians, as described by Herodotus. A fact strongly marked by the head and neck being bare, and of a deep black colour.* It may be worthy of remark also, that Strabo mentions this bird as frequenting the coast to the eastward of the Straits of Δειρη or Babelmandeb, (ὁρῶνται γὰρ δὴ ἴβεις περὶ τὸν τόπον.) At some distance from the spot where we landed stood a few huts, and we saw some of the natives engaged in fishing; but the evening was too far advanced to admit of our attempting any intercourse with them. There is a very curious account of two attempts made to communicate with the natives of this coast in a work entitled, Voyage de l' Arabie Heureuse, published at Amsterdam in 1716. In the first instance the French captain went boldly on shore, and with all the nonchalance characterising his nation, addressed the natives with the Arabic word "marhaba," signifying commonly, "very well," but which he interprets "soiez le bien venu," 'terme de civilité fort en usage en Afrique et en Arabie,' and the poor man expresses himself quite astonished that the natives did not understand this language. In this expedition, the seamen discovered a large stock of fish hoarded in a small cavern. "Je fis prendre" (says the captain) "la moitié des sardines et

* A tolerably good specimen of this bird is to be seen in Mr. Bullock's valuable Museum.

des thons, et je leur laissai dans un plat une piastre et demie." This imprudent step cost him dear, for on a second attempt to land, the natives assembled and killed no less than seven of the boat's crew, "et tout le monde assura, qu'on se souviendroit longtemps de l' Abyssinie."

After our return to the ship, a strong breeze sprung up, and at midnight we passed over a shoal projecting from a low point to the eastward of Mount Felix, on which we had ten fathoms water only, the mountain bearing at the time W. by S. ½ south, distant about five leagues. This shoal is not laid down in the charts, and evidently proves the danger of trusting to the assertion made in some Oriental Directories, that "the shore between Guardafui and Mount Felix is so bold, that if occasion require, you may come within a mile of it." Var. 4° 40′ W.

September 30. Having lost the current in the night, we passed Mount Felix, or as it might with more propriety be called, Cape Elephant, from the Arabic "*Ras el Feel*," which is its true name (being the Elephas Mons also of the Romans,) and we continued all day sailing along the coast, to which the high mountains inland seem to run parallel. Therm. 89°, var. 5° 43′ W.

We continued to proceed in sight of the coast with light breezes, which invariably blew from the north-east, until the second of October, when we quitted the land, and steered directly over to the Arabian coast. The thermometer kept up at 88°, but we found the air much cooler after we had got into the open channel.

On the 3d of October, in the morning, we came in sight of the rugged mountains of Aden, and at two in the afternoon arrived abreast of the town. On our firing a gun, a boat came off with three native fishermen, by whom we were advised to carry the vessel into Back Bay, as the roads in front of the town were considered unsafe at this season of the year. Captain Weatherhead complied with this advice, and soon brought the ship to an anchor behind the rock, in an excellent situation, in four fathoms water, with good holding ground.

From the observations made in the course of this voyage up the coast of Africa, it appears that no natural obstacles exist to have prevented early navigators from

making a direct voyage from Sofala to the Red Sea. I shall not attempt at any length to discuss the question, whether Sofala corresponds to the Ophir of the Hebrews, as I am of opinion that the Old Testament does not supply sufficient dáta to enable any one to decide upon the matter, and I shall therefore content myself with merely pointing out the extreme inaccuracy of the statements on which a late celebrated author, Mr. Bruce, has founded his theory on the subject. The principal argument on which he seems to rely depends on "the time of the going and coming of the fleet," which, as he expresses it, "was precisely three years, at no period more nor less," and that from this circumstance, it could not have been done "with variable winds, but must have been accomplished by monsoons." The expression in the Scriptures, however, is not so positive; "once in three years," and "every three years once," are very indefinite phrases, and might allow of any reasonable variation as to the period of time occupied in the voyage. Supposing, however, that he were correct as to this statement, I shall proceed to prove the fallacy of the grounds on which his arguments depend.

His first position relative to the winds prevailing in the Red Sea is strikingly incorrect, as the 'monsoon' there (if it may be so termed) does by no means continue for six months steadily in the same point, either one way or the other, but, as nearly as can be ascertained, blows in the northern part nine months down, and in the southern nine months up, while in the centre of the sea the winds are often extremely variable.* It happens during the height of the south-west monsoon in the Indian Seas, in the months of June, July and August, that the Etesian winds from the north-west prevailing in the Mediterranean appear to find their way down the whole extent of the Red Sea, and it is in the height of the north-east monsoon in the Indian Seas, during the months of November, December and January, that the south-east wind (which is a part of the same current of air, I conceive, as the north-east monsoon, only changed into a

* Vide Sir Home Popham's, Captain Bissell's, and Lord Valentia's remarks respecting these winds.

different direction by the shape of the coasts) forces its way up as far as Suez. Even this general character of the prevailing winds must be taken with some allowance, as nothing tends so much to mislead as the too general assertions by which some authors are accustomed to tie down the winds, weather and seasons, all of which are known to be somewhat variable in every part of the globe.

The next points to which Mr. Bruce leads his readers are the mines of silver at Sofala mentioned by Dos Santos, and the existence of certain ancient towers* in the neighbourhood, built of stone and lime, but the slight account given of the former proves nothing, and the latter rests entirely on a story received from the Moors; being by no means "a tradition common to all the Kaffers in that country."

The extract that follows from Eupolemus, and the use made of it, is such a *master-piece* in the art of reasoning, that I cannot forbear quoting it. "Eupolemus, an ancient author, speaking of David, says, that he built ships at Eloth, a city in Arabia, and thence sent miners, or as he calls them, metal-men, to Orphi, or Ophir, an island in the Red Sea. Now, by the Red Sea, he understands the Indian Ocean, and by Orphi, he probably meant the Island of Madagascar; *or Orphi, (or Ophir) might have been the name of the continent, instead of Sofala; that is, Sofala, where the mines are, might have been the main land of Orphi,*" (Vide Mr. Bruce's Travels, Vol. II. p. 352.) or, by the same chain of reasoning, it might have been any other place that the caprice of human imagination should choose to suggest. With respect to the winds in the Indian Seas, Mr. Bruce's assertions are still more contradicted by facts. Supposing that a vessel sailed down the Red Sea early in August, she might have had three months of favourable winds

* These towers are said to exist in the interior of the kingdom of Butua, one hundred and sixty leagues west of Sofala, on the front of one of which is engraved an inscription in unknown characters. This account was received from the Moors, vide Joh. de Barros in Ramusio, Vol. I. p. 393; but the supposition of the inscription being placed there by the Kings of Axum, or of its having any relation to the Ophir of the Hebrews, as asserted by Marmol and other writers, appears to be entirely devoid of foundation.

and weather till November, which surely is ample time for her voyage to Gardafui. In November, as Mr. Bruce himself allows, the north-east monsoon becomes settled in the Indian seas, and the vessel might then have continued her voyage, and must have had full six months of continual fair wind and strong currents in her favour, which could not have failed to carry her down to Sofala; for as to "the anomalous south-west monsoon in the beginning of November, which was to cut off her voyage to Sofala, and oblige her to put into the small harbour of Mocha, near to Melinda, but nearer still to Tarshish, there to continue six months," * it is all absolutely without foundation. No such anomalous wind existing, as is sufficiently proved by Admiral Blanket's fleet, which was in this part of the sea from December to April, (vide the accurate observations of Captain Bissell) and no such places as Mocha or Tarshish being known on the coast. The authority I have already quoted is sufficient to bear me out in these facts, but I may, in confirmation, mention, that the Arab *boats* run this voyage every year at least so far as the Querimbo Islands, and the Portuguese vessels, during the same season, are constantly in the habit of sailing from the Querimbo Islands down to Sofala.

The common track pursued by the Arab traders is as follows: they depart from the Red Sea in August, (before which it is dangerous to venture out of the gulph) then proceed to Muscat, and thence to the coast of Malabar. In December, they cross over to the coast of Africa, visit Mugdasho, Marea, Brava, Lamo, Melinda, and the Querimbo Islands. They then direct their course to the Comoro Islands, and the northern ports of Madagascar, or sometimes stretch down southward as far as Sofala. This occupies them till after April, when they

* Tarshish is said by Mr. Bruce to have been mentioned in the Abyssinian chronicles as one of the districts opposed to Amda Sion: but as the whole of this king's expeditions certainly never extended above two hundred miles from Zeyla, very little importance can be attached to this remark, even *if it be so mentioned*, because it must have been in that case at least six hundred miles out of the scene of action. With respect to the rivers Yass and Aco, one actually lies to the north of Zeyla, and the other at no great distance, while in Mr. B.'s map they are carried ten degrees south of it!

run up into the Red Sea, where they arrive in time to refit and prepare a fresh cargo for the following year. This is the regular course of the trade. As to the ease with which the return might be effected, I beg leave to refer the reader once more to Captain Bissell's Journal, where he will find that in April, the English fleet ran with a fair wind from Mugdasho to the Red Sea; and the concurrent testimony of the Portuguese and Arabs, together with our own voyage, proves that the same winds continue without intermission till the end of September.

Thus "the change of the monsoon six times," and the assertion that there is not another combination of winds over the globe capable to effect the same voyage, falls totally to the ground. As to the map given by Mr. Bruce "to remove the difficulties of his reader,"* it is absolutely unworthy of notice, were it not for the errors to which it may lead from its extreme inaccuracy and from its being founded entirely on visionary principles.

The additional mistakes and even absurdities in this treatise are very numerous, but the edifice being pulled down it is not worth while to meddle with the materials. One circumstance, however, ought not to be passed over in silence. In this same treatise, Mr. Bruce gives a very detailed account of some magnificent ruins at Asab. "The blocks of marble," composing which "were joined with thick cramps or bars of brass:" and he adds soon afterwards, "but upon analysing this on my return to England, I found it copper without mixture, or virgin copper." Now the whole of this proves to be pure fiction, for, the late editor of his works has confessed, that the whole *voyage* from Loheia to Babelmandeb and Asab, (which was first suspected by Mr. Laing, the well-known author of "The History of Scotland,") must be *given up as being totally inconsistent with the observations and dates found among Mr. Bruce's own Journals.*"† The proof given by Mr. Murray is as follows.

* This is not the general map, but the particular one made to illustrate the course of Solomon's voyage to Ophir.

† The only mention of any thing like a building on this coast is to be found in Strabo, (L. xvi. p. 1114,) who places a column near the village of [illegible], and attributes it to Sesostris. I made many en-

"Mr. Bruce arrived at *Loheia on the 18th of July, 1769, where he remained till his departure for Abyssinia.* He made observations of latitude or longitude there on July 21st, 26th, August 5th, &c. Balugani's journal of this period is complete." (Vide Mr. Murray's Appendix to Bruce, Vol. II. page 264, last edition.) It was within this period, from the 27th of July to the 6th of August, that Mr. Bruce pretends to have made the voyage to Babelmandeb and Asab. The voyage from Cosseir to the Emerald Island and back, is also given up by Mr. Murray, as Mr. Bruce *did not arrive at Cosseir till the 22d of March*, though he describes the voyage to have taken place between the 14th and 20th of that month. (Vide Appendix to Book First, in Vol. II. page 262.) As both these voyages contain a vast number of very minute details, both of observations and transactions, the reader may form from them a pretty just estimate of the inventive talents of this author. Had not the testimony* on the subject been unquestionable, I should have scarcely thought it possible to have carried on a narrative with so much apparent internal evidence of authenticity; and, indeed, at the time that Lord Valentia started his doubts on both points, I differed in opinion from him on the subject, as I had not at that time sufficiently investigated the question.

I shall now return to the general course of my narrative.

Soon after our coming to an anchor the super-cargo of the ship, Mr. Coffin, went on shore with the three native fishermen, who, before they left us, saluted us with the accustomed greeting; "allah, meschine, bukshis," meaning literally, "in the name of God, poor man, a present," an appeal, which the wretchedness of their appearance rendered irresistible. In the evening, Mr. Coffin returned on board, and brought us the satisfactory intelligence, that Captain Rudland, my former companion

quiries on the subject, but never could learn the good tidings of any such column or other ruins being at present in existence.

* The public is greatly indebted to the relations of Mr. Bruce, and his publishers, for the very candid manner in which they have made known the important facts on which this testimony rests.

in Abyssinia, was stationed at Mocha as Agent to the East India Company.

October 4.—The Banians in the morning sent down a mule, a camel, and several asses to convey us to Aden; and with this ill-assorted train the captain, the surgeon and myself, proceeded to the town. The road to it leads over a low ridge of the mountain, and for some distance is cut through the solid rock, in the narrowest part of which a strong gate protects the passage.

On our arrival at Aden we were received with great attention by the Banians, who had fitted up a house belonging to Mr. Benzoni for our reception. This gentleman had resided here in a commercial capacity from the time of my quitting the Red Sea in 1806, till 1808, when he went over to Bombay, where, on account of the information he possessed respecting the trade, and from the estimation he was held in by the Banians, whom he had much conciliated by his judicious conduct, he was appointed by the Governor, assistant to Captain Rudland at Mocha.

Aden, as a place of trade, is still of some consequence. It is the chief mart for the gums brought over by the Somauli traders from the north-eastern districts of Africa; and coffee of the best quality may be procured in considerable quantities, though not so expeditiously as at Mocha, owing to the want of a regular demand. The price of the principal articles at this time was as follows:

Uddeen coffee	70 dollars per bale of 305lbs. nett.
Gum myrrh	4½ dollars per frasil of 32lbs. English.
Gum aloes	2 dollars per frasil, ditto.
Gum Libanum	1 dollar per frasil, ditto.
Gum mastich	2 dollars per frasil, ditto.

The town itself is a wretched heap of ruins and miserable huts, and none but Arabs of the lowest description would think of inhabiting it, owing to the scorching heat of the climate and the total want of every convenience of life, excepting water, under which it labours. The natives themselves are squalid and unhealthy in their appearance, and the lower classes are equally depraved in their habits with those inhabiting most Arabian towns.

Among the ruins some fine remains of ancient splendour are to be met with; but these only serve to cast a

darker shade over the general desolation of the scene. The most remarkable of these remains consists of a line of cisterns situated on the north-west side of the town, three of which are full eighty feet square and proportionally deep, all excavated out of the solid rock, and lined with a thick coat of fine stucco, which externally bears a strong resemblance to marble. A broad aqueduct may still be traced, which formerly conducted the water to these cisterns from a deep ravine in the mountain above. Higher up there is another still entire, which at the time we visited it was partly filled with water. In front of it extends a handsome terrace, formerly covered with stucco, and behind it rise some immense masses of granite, which being in some parts perpendicular and in others overhanging it, form during the hot weather a most delightful retreat. Some Arab children, who attended us in our excursions, were highly pleased when we arrived at this spot, and plunging headlong into the water much amused us with their sportive tricks. In most Mahomedan towns the insolence of the children is particularly annoying to strangers; but here, from their having been a good deal accustomed to Englishmen, their behaviour had altered its character, and their playfulness was often exceedingly diverting; they ran about collecting flowers for us, and as we went along entertained us with their singing, tumbling, and wrestling; and sometimes they pretended to cry from fatigue, or feigned to have hurt themselves, and, if we expressed any concern for them, would jump up and laugh at the deception they had practised upon us. In one excursion up the mountain a little female child not more than five years old accompanied us the whole way, though the road was very steep and difficult of access. A few commassi, given as a reward on such occasions, made these wild urchins completely happy.

Aden, on the northern and western sides, is protected by a steep and craggy mountain, on the pinnacles of which stand several ancient towers erected by the Turks. The striking appearance of these from a distance had long made me entertain a wish to examine them; and for this purpose, on Friday the 6th, I resolved to ascend the mountain. The road is extremely steep, and much in-

commoded by loose stones and pieces of rock, so that it was not long before our resolution was severely put to the test. After surmounting the first difficulty we came to a deep gully, in which we found two or three small pits of rain-water, some trees, and a few straggling goats. After traversing this gully another steep presented itself, that took us up to a rugged plain about a mile in extent, which, though at this time parched up, affords, after the rains, sustenance enough for a considerable number of goats. Beyond this, the ascent became so abrupt, that our guide assured us it was inaccessible; notwithstanding which we persisted in advancing, and at last, after great exertion, reached one of the highest ridges of the mountain, which was so extremely narrow along the top as to present on both sides the terrific aspect of a perpendicular abyss. At this point my companions sat down on the rock, and could not be induced to proceed further, though we were then at no great distance from the principal tower, to visit which formed the chief object of the excursion. My desire if possible to find an inscription, which I had reason to think might exist there, determined me to persist in the attempt, and after reaching the tower with great difficulty and considerable hazard, I succeeded in getting into it, by clinging with my arms round an angle of the wall, where, supported only by one loose stone, I had to pass, over a perpendicular precipice of many hundred feet, down which it was impossible to look without shuddering. I had now done my utmost to attain my object, but found nothing to reward me for the danger I had encountered, except the view, which was indeed magnificent; and at this moment, I confess, I could not help looking round with a feeling of gratification, somewhat bordering on pride, at beholding my less adventurous companions, and the inhabitants of the town gazing up from beneath, together with the lofty hills, and the broad expanse of ocean extended at my feet. The pleasure however which this prospect afforded was greatly allayed by the necessity there existed of retracing my steps, which required a much stronger effort than the entrance itself had done, for after a few moments reflection, I found a feeling of hesitation coming over my mind, which would, I am convinced, in a few minutes have ac-

tually disabled me from the undertaking, and nothing but the absolute necessity of making the attempt enabled me, with a sort of desperation, to surmount the difficulties of the situation into which I had unwarily drawn myself.

On our return we passed close by the wall erected by Colonel Murray at the time the British troops were stationed at Aden, preparatory to their expedition into Egypt. The plan appears to have been formed with judgment, and would have effectually protected the town on the only point where it was before assailable.

On the 8th of October a brig came in sight at daybreak, steering direct into the harbour as if her pilot had been accustomed to the bay. As we could not distinguish the flag she carried, the Dola hastened with a party of soldiers to the water-gate, while I proceeded with a few others to the ship. Our alarm arose from the fear that it might be a French privateer, as the ships of that nation have been in the habit of frequently running to this port for refreshment, notwithstanding it has been repeatedly refused; an instance of which occurred in the early part of this year. Fortunately on the present occasion the vessel proved to be an American, which gratified us with the pleasing intelligence of the continuance of peace between our respective nations, a circumstance which we had strong reason to doubt, from information received in the Mosambique.

This occurrence led me to notice the exposed situation of the anchorage in this bay, where a French privateer or pirate might, with facility, cut any vessel out of the harbour, without the possibility of her receiving aid from the shore. The means of remedying this evil are very obvious, and might be accomplished at a small expense; I therefore ventured to suggest to the Governor of Bombay, in a subsequent visit to that Settlement, that it should be carried into effect at the charge of the East India Company. The plan which I proposed was that the Governor should send two pieces of cannon, (many of which are now lying useless at Bombay) as a present to the Sultaun of Aden, on condition of their being placed on a point near the tomb of Sheik Hamed, in which position they would completely command and protect the

anchorage. This is now become more particularly advisable should any commercial intercourse take place with the Red Sea, on account of our being at war with the Americans, who are intimately acquainted with these ports, and whose ships are generally of a force superior to any of our merchant vessels likely to be employed in the service. The plan above-mentioned would not only benefit our own concerns, but prove a just return for the alliance of a chief, who has, by repeated and substantial acts of kindness, evinced his attachment to the British interests. If a small fort were erected for the guns, it might render them still more serviceable.

The ship not being likely to complete her stock of water in less than three days, I determined to take the opportunity of making a journey to Lahadj, the residence and capital of the Sultaun ;* and as soon as we were satisfied respecting the vessel, we set out on this expedition, accompanied by Duroz, one of the Banians, under the protection of Aboo Buckr, the Dola of Aden, who had received orders from the Sultaun to attend us with a guard of his Ascari. This chieftain, who was descended from a tribe of Abada Bedowee, was one of the handsomest men I ever saw. He was taller than the generality of his countrymen, active, and of a daring disposition, and displayed a high spirit of manly independence that seemed to excite universal admiration.

The first part of our road conducted us round the bottom of Back Bay, near which stands a small building called "beit el mi," or the 'water-house,' now forming a shelter for the natives who bring supplies to the town,

* An early description of this place is given by Ludovico Barthema, who was made captive by the Moors and sent up here in the year 1504. He calls it Laji. His narrative is very entertaining, and, I conceive, accurate, from his having given in the peculiar dialect of the country several of the conversations which took place, the greater part of which I have succeeded in making out, notwithstanding their being set down from the ear only in Roman characters, by which the words have been often strangely jumbled together. This dialect is supposed by the learned and indefatigable Niebuhr, to be more nearly related to that of the ancient Hamyarites, than any other now spoken in Arabia. Vide Itinerario di Ludovico di Barthema, stampato a Vinegia 1535. The same journal is given in Ramusio, but without the Arabic. Vide Vol. I. p. 154, *et seq.*

behind which the remains of some large stone walls are observable, carried a considerable way across the adjacent peninsula. These appear to have formed part of an immense reservoir, which, at a very early period, was constructed for the supply of the shipping in Back Bay.

About half a mile further, a causeway built on seven arches connects to the continent, the 'peninsula' of Aden, as it is called, though it might with more propriety be termed an island, as at high tide a considerable body of salt water rushes through the arches, uniting two inlets of the sea.

Directly north from this causeway runs an ancient aqueduct, now out of repair, constructed of solid stone work about five feet wide, of an uniform breadth, and rising about two feet above the present level of the ground, the ruins of which may be clearly traced for about eight miles into the country, a circumstance that may serve to give some idea of the importance of Aden during the period of its flourishing condition. There is reason to believe, from a passage in a curious tract written in Latin by Resendius, bearing date 1530, and entitled "Epitome Rerum gestarum in Indiâ a Lusitanis:" that this aqueduct, as well as the towers on the summits of the mountains, were constructed subsequently to this period, for he there remarks, "that the hills were only accessible to the birds," and, "that the water was daily brought in on camels, which on some days amounted to fifteen or sixteen hundred, and even to two thousand," and, that "if they came in the day time the water was taken into the city, but if in the evening was deposited in a large cistern near the water-house," the ruins of which have been before noticed. It was, in all probability, to obviate the necessity of this practice and to render the town independent of the Arabs, that the Turks were induced, when fortifying the heights, to construct the aqueduct: the first mention of it that I can find is given by a French officer who visited the place in 1709, and it was then in use.

At the end of the plain over which the aqueduct is conducted stands a tomb and a caravan-serai dedicated to Sheik Othman. Here our party, which had been greatly augmented by a number of Bedowee soldiers

who had joined us during the march, stopped to shelter during the heat of the mid-day; and to refresh us, the Dola ordered a repast consisting of broiled fish and a mixture of juwarry meal, to be prepared with hot ghee; of which chiefs, masters, soldiers and servants partook in a truly Arabic and primitive style, forming altogether a scene which would probably not have been very well suited to the fastidious delicacy of some European stomachs. After this refreshment every one as usual took a nap, and, on awaking, those who could afford it regaled themselves with a pipe; the accustomed antidote in use among the Arabs, to alleviate all their cares.

At three, we re-commenced our journey. About half a mile from the tomb we entered a deep wood of large and spreading trees, of a species of mimosa, called by the Arabs Sa-muk. This wood extends about eight miles across, and is said to occupy two days march in length, lying in an east and west direction. Numbers of goats and camels are seen in every quarter wandering about it, which, at this season of the year, are chiefly fed on the leaves and tender branches of the trees. From the flesh and milk of these animals, whole tribes of Bedowee derive their subsistence.

The road leading out of the wood opens upon a barren plain, covered with hillocks composed of a fine loose sand, which, constantly drifting from place to place, prevents the growth of a single blade of vegetation. This desolate scene, though only five miles across, conveyed to my mind a much stronger image of "a desert that might be fatal to man and beast," than any I had before passed. When we had crossed it, the return to the gradual appearance of verdure was peculiarly grateful to the eye, and soon afterwards we reached a highly rich and cultivated track of land, bordering on the town of Lahadj. Here we found wheat, juwarry and cotton flourishing with great luxuriance, the ground being intersected by artificial dykes, supplied with water by means of those simple machines common throughout Arabia and Egypt. The whole country, besides, was interspersed with date trees.

As we approached the town of Lahadj, we were met by a deputation, headed by the Dola of the place, who

conducted us forwards, surrounded by his Ascari, who marched on wildly dancing, singing, tossing up their matchlocks, and shouting in the same manner as practised at Mocha, when the Dola returns on public occasions from mosque. This scene lasted till we reached the first entrance of the Sultaun's house, when three irregular vollies of musquetry ended the ceremony. We were conducted thence through several passages, strongly barricadoed at each end, up to an apartment opening to the sky, (somewhat resembling the hall of audience at Sana, of which a drawing is given by Niebuhr,) on the far side of which the Sultaun Hamed was waiting to receive us. We found him an old man, of a very patriarchal appearance, with a benign yet intelligent expression in his countenance. He received us in a very friendly manner, and seemed truly in his heart, as he repeated over and over again, in the manner of the Arabians, to feel great delight in once more beholding an Englishman before he died. Those British subjects who formerly visited him have left an impression very favourable to our national character, and I have strong reason to believe, from what subsequently passed, that, should we ever have occasion for the friendship of this chief, in any arrangement with the Arabian states, his good offices would be exerted to the utmost in our favour.

After drinking "café à la Sultane," as it is termed by French writers, hookahs were offered to us, and soon afterwards, to my great surprise, dinner was announced. We accordingly retired with the Dola of Aden to another apartment, where a kid broiled and cut into small pieces with a quantity of pillaued rice, was served up to us, agreeably to the fashion of the country. When dinner was over, Abu Bukr rose up, and considerately observed, that, as he knew it was usual for us to take wine after our meals, (of which we had brought a small stock from Aden,) he would leave us for a short time to the enjoyment of it, an instance of politeness very rare in a mussulman.

Of the town of Lahadj, which I had an opportunity of examining in the evening and in the course of the ensuing day, I have but few observations to make. The houses are, in general, formed of mud, and even the Sul-

taun's palace, which towers above the rest, is constructed of the same material, in the rude form of an ancient castle. The inhabitants manufacture a species of fine coloured striped cloths, peculiar to the country, which forms the common dress of Arabs of rank. Much misery and wretchedness appear to prevail among the lower classes of the townspeople, affording a striking contrast to the happy appearance of the Bedowee in the neighbourhood, who, though poorer in reality, feel a pride in their native independence, which renders them better satisfied with a more scanty sustenance.

To the north of the town flourishes an extensive grove of date, mango, sycamore, and pomegranate trees, among which I observed several very lofty and fine trees, called by the Arabs bédan; the leaves of these trees grow in clusters, and in shape are somewhat similar to those of the laurel; the fruit, in form and size resembling an almond, and being not unpleasant, though very astringent to the taste. The quantity of water required for cultivation in this place is astonishing; the soil round the trees is obliged to be kept constantly moist, which, during the dry season, is entirely supplied by the assistance of art. This season, fortunately, does not last more than two months; during the remaining ten, occasional showers intervene, and in December, the rains on the adjacent mountains fall so heavily, that the river which passes Lahadj, though at times nearly dry, swells into a prodigious torrent.

The verdant strip of land, bordering on each side of the river, is about three miles broad, and forms a very valuable part of the territory, as is generally the case with respect to the banks of most eastern rivers.* Beyond it, to the northward, lies a barren and rocky district, which extends to the foot of the mountains occupied by tribes of the Abada Arabs, who, when occasion requires, flock in multitudes to join the standard of the Sultaun. They are a small, but a stout and compact race of men, and constitute some of the best soldiers in Arabia.

* The banks of rivers are in all countries the most productive part of the soil, and best adapted to afford comfortable residence to man. This is peculiarly the case in most parts of both Americas.
Note by the American Editor.

It would be difficult to find a person whose lot is more to be envied, than that of Sultaun Hamed. By his able and judicious line of conduct, he has raised his seignory to a respectable rank among the principalities of Yemen, and by his constant solicitude for the welfare of his subjects, has fully become entitled to the appellation of "Father of his country," which is now commonly bestowed upon him by his people. The more respectable Arabs of this district seem, indeed, to inherit a peculiar and distinctive character, bearing a very near affinity to the patriarchal simplicity of their forefathers. From the descriptions given by the accurate Niebuhr, I am led to suspect that this honourable distinction prevails throughout a great part of the interior, forming a very striking contrast to the debauched manners of the inhabitants dwelling on the upper coast.

On the evening of the 9th, having taken a friendly leave of the Sultaun, we returned on our way to Aden, as far as the caravan-serai of Sheik Othman, where we rested for the night, in order that we might pursue our route early on the following day, before the heat should set in, which is here very oppressive. Our lodging was not particularly agreeable, on account of the building being hardly large enough to contain the party, but slight inconveniences and difficulties only serve, by contrast, to give a zest to the enterprises of the traveller.

Tuesday 10th.—At day-break we continued our route to Aden. As we approached the peninsula, we were much struck with the singular appearances which the sun put on as it rose. When it had risen about half way above the horizon, its form somewhat resembled a castellated dome; when three parts above the horizon, its shape appeared like that of a balloon, and at length the lower limb suddenly starting up from the horizon, it assumed the general form of a globe, flattened at either axis. These singular changes may be attributed to the refraction produced by the different layers of atmosphere through which the sun was viewed in its progress. The same cause made our ship in the bay look as if it had been lifted out of the water, and her bare masts seemed to be crowded with sail. A low rock also appeared to rise up like a vessel, and a projecting point of land to rest on no

other foundation than the air. The space between these objects and the horizon having a grey pellucid tinge very distinct from the darker colour of the sea. This deception of the atmosphere, as far as it affects the relative positions of the heavenly bodies with regard to the eye, is a subject which has been much attended to by astronomers, and tables have been constructed to obviate the errors it occasions, which are perhaps as accurate as the difficulties in which the subject is involved will permit, but as the deception affects the visible horizon and other objects on the earth's surface, it seems to merit a still more strict investigation, as it produces great incorrectness, particularly in warm latitudes, with respect to all observations taken by means of the visible horizon, as well as in those geometrical admeasurements which depend on a distant object, and are to be ascertained with a theodolite, or other instrument on shore. On this account an artificial horizon possesses decided advantages over the visible one in point of accuracy, and is, whenever it can be used, to be greatly preferred.*

In the evening, the Captain having completed his stock of water, a precaution which it is advisable for every ship to take at this place previously to entering the Red Sea, I returned to the Marian, after having had the trouble of settling my account with the Banians. Though these traders possess a remarkable suavity in their manners, and an immoveable command of temper, yet there are no individuals in the world more keen, artful, and rapacious in their dealing, and consequently in all communications with them undue exactions must be expected and carefully guarded against, notwithstanding there may be an appearance of minute and scrupulous accuracy in their accounts. This may generally be best effected by mild behaviour, yet unalterable steadiness in resisting their impositions. With respect to other points of character, I have been induced to think, from what I have witnessed, that they are a quiet, and estimable people; and even in that point, which I have seen reason to condemn, some allowance ought to be made in their

* I am informed that a very satisfactory explanation of the various effects of refraction has been given in the Philosophical Transactions by Dr. Wollaston.

favour from the unprincipled character of those persons with whom they are generally obliged to transact business. Duroz, the principal Banian at Aden, appeared to be one of the most respectable of the class I have ever met with.

On the 11th of October we left Aden with a fair wind and a favourable current, the weather being pleasant and the water smooth, and we continued all day coasting along the shore, the mountains of which are very remarkable in their forms. At sunset, by an amplitude, we found the variation to be 7° 10′ west.

13th.—We passed Cape St. Anthony in the night, and, at day-break, had it still in sight, bearing NE. b. E. distant eight leagues, Babelmandeb Straits, NW. b. W. nine leagues, and the coast of Africa W. S. W. seven leagues. In this situation it is particularly important for strangers unacquainted with the coast to keep near the Arabian shore until the Island of Perim appear in sight, as many ships, by not attending to this caution, have got entangled in the deep Bay of Tajoura, a remarkable instance of which is to be met with in the Voyage de l'Arabie Heureuse, page 59, 64, where, in December 1708, owing to a mistake of this nature, the vessel Le Curieux was very nearly lost on one of the shoals in this dangerous Bay. At eleven in the morning we passed through the Straits of Babelmandeb, with a strong current setting in NW. b. N. and at half past three came to an anchor in Mocha roads. Soon afterwards I received a letter from Captain Rudland inviting me on shore, and in the evening I took up my residence at the British factory.

Captain Rudland, shortly afterwards, was obliging enough to disclose his orders from the Bombay Government, for opening a commercial intercourse with Abyssinia, the plans which he had adopted for this purpose, and the correspondence and transactions which had consequently taken place. Immediately on his arrival in the Red Sea he had, in May 1809, dispatched letters to Ras Welled Selassé, in which he informed him of his arrival at Mocha, as agent to the East India Company, and expressed the desire of the Indian Government to keep up a regular communication with Abyssinia. He also had

written at the same time to Mr. Nathaniel Pearce, the person whom I had left in the country on my former expedition.

In July 1809, Captain Rudland received a very satisfactory answer from Ras Welled Selassé through Mr. Pearce, who in a very simple, clear, though singular narrative, gave a general account of the adventures he had encountered. He mentioned the diappointment which the Ras had unceasingly expressed at not hearing for so long a time from the English, and strongly confirmed his anxiety to encourage an intercourse with our nation. Mr. Pearce also added many useful observations on the description of articles likely to answer for the Abyssinian market.

In consequence of these letters, Captain Rudland soon afterwards had sent over his assistant, Mr. Benzoni, in a country boat, with some articles of commerce, and a few presents, to Madir, a village in the Bay of Amphila on the Abyssinian coast, to which place he had appointed Mr. Pearce to come down and receive them. The difficulties which Mr. Benzoni met with, and the dangers to which this ill-concerted expedition exposed Mr. Pearce, will be given in a subsequent narrative of transactions, which the latter related to me at Chelicut.

In a short time after this the Ras had sent over one of the Mahomedan traders in his employ, named Hadjee Hamood, who had returned with a few other articles by way of Massowa, but of his arrival at Chelicut no intelligence had been received, and Captain Rudland seemed to entertain the opinion, that he was likely to meet with serious obstacles in passing Massowa, owing to a Sirdar, named Omar Aga, having arrived at the latter place from Jidda, who had dispossessed the Nayib of his authority, and taken upon himself the command. It may be necessary to observe, that at this time our relative situation with Jidda was extremely precarious, owing to the unprincipled character of its chief, who had very lately committed an act of great injustice against the British, in detaining some goods belonging to them, which had been landed under particular circumstances in his port.

This state of affairs rendered it incumbent on me to obtain, if possible, a communication with the Ras pre-

viously to my attempting to penetrate into Abyssinia, I therefore hired at Mocha a trusty servant, named Hadjee Alli, and sent him over immediately to the Abyssinian coast with letters for the Ras and Mr. Pearce, in a country boat belonging to Yunus Beralli, a faithful Somauli, who had before rendered important services to the English. In these letters I announced my arrival with his Majesty's letter and presents for the Emperor Ayto Egwala Sion, (or Ayto Gualo, as he is commonly called) expressing my anxiety to advance as soon as possible to the presence; and requesting that the Ras would send down Mr. Pearce, with a proper number of mules and people, to whatever point of the coast he might judge it most advisable for me to land.

This dispatch was sent off on the 14th of October, and as I conceived it advisable, on account of many necessary preparations for my journey, I determined to wait at Mocha for an answer. During the time which this delay afforded me, I several times visited the Dola, (styled Sultaun Hassan,) the Baskatib, and other natives of rank, and I found them, in general, more favourably inclined to the English than they appeared to have been during our former residence at Mocha. The Dola granted me an unlimited permission to hire whatever servants I might require, and otherwise facilitated my views as much as lay in his power, and frequently sent presents of fruits and vegetables to the factory, which were at this time peculiarly acceptable, owing to the unsettled state of affairs in the town.

That the reader may become acquainted with the situation to which I allude, it will be necessary to take a retrospective view of the events which had occurred in Yemen from the time of our residence at Mocha in 1805, which being connected with the transactions of the Wahabee in this part of Arabia, and with the general history of Yemen, may not prove unworthy of his attention.

It appeared at the time we left Arabia, that the political affairs of Yemen were drawing to a crisis. The weakness of the old Imaum, Ali Mansoor, and the incapacity of his minister, had occasioned the loss of some of its most valuable possessions, particularly Loheia and

Hodeida, which, from the want of timely support, had been obliged to submit to the power of the Wahabee, and nothing but the walls of Mocha prevented their gaining absolute dominion of the sea coast together with the control over the commerce of the country.

Fortunately for the reigning dynasty, Sheriffe Hamood, the Chief of Abu Arish, though he assumed the guise of a Wahabee, was in reality averse from the principles of reform which they had introduced, and therefore only waited for the first favourable opportunity to throw off the yoke. With this view, he privately entered into an arrangement with Sydee Achmed, the eldest son of the Imaum, by which the latter was induced to set aside his father's command, and to take the reins of government into his own hands. This was easily effected, and without bloodshed, which is difficult to account for, without thoroughly understanding the peculiar disposition of the inhabitants of Yemen. Fakkee Hassan, the Vizier, and a few of the principal men under the old government, were reduced to poverty, and imprisoned, while the old Imaum, though excluded from interference in state affairs, of which it is supposed he was scarcely conscious, was still permitted to enjoy all the comforts of domestic retirement.

Sydee Achmed, on his establishment, chose Ali Ishmael Furrea for his vizier, a man of considerable ability, from whose advice the judicious line of conduct which the prince has since pursued is supposed to originate. Immediately after this event, which happened in February 1809, Sheriffe Hamood threw off the yoke of the Wahabee, resumed his allegiance, and restored to the sovereignty of the young Imaum, not only the provinces of Loheia, Hodeida, and Abu Arish, but also those of Beit el Fackee and Zebid (of which, in conjunction with the Wahabee, he had recently gained possession) under a stipulation, as might naturally be expected, that he should be continued in his command. The revenue of these provinces from this time has reverted to the Imaum.

The defection of Sheriffe Hamood soon drew upon him an attack from the Wahabee, and in the following July,

Abu Nookta,* chief of the province of Kubtool Bucker, which lies to the south of Confuda, marched under the orders of Shorood to subdue him. Though Sheriffe Hamood's whole force did not at this time amount to more than five hundred men, he was rash enough to meet the Wahabee in the field, and in the first onset, which took place at Ghezan, two stages from Abu Arish, he suffered a signal defeat, which compelled him to make a precipitate retreat.

This failure produced great alarm throughout the provinces; and the inhabitants and merchants of Loheia and Hodeida began to embark their property, through fear of the ravages which the Wahabee were likely to commit in following up their conquest. A measure of this kind, it should seem, would have promoted their interests, but owing to some unknown reason, such a step was delayed. This gave time to Sheriffe Hamood to recruit his army, and enabled him to receive large reinforcements from Sana, which, as the safety of the state depended upon it, consisted of four thousand men, and a supply of forty thousand dollars; by the help of which he is said to have augmented his forces to the number of twenty-five thousand men; four thousand of which were mounted, either on dromedaries or horses. This may be an exaggerated statement, but in a country, where the profession of every man is that of a soldier, an army of Bedowee may soon be raised by the assistance of money.

With the above force the Sheriffe again moved forward, and in a battle which lasted a whole day, completely beat the army of Abu Nookta, who, together with several of his principal officers, fell in the engagement.

This victory for a time gave security to Yemen, though its effects have been ultimately attended with throwing a larger share of power into the hands of Sheriffe Hamood, than perhaps ought ever to be entrusted to a subject. This chieftain is a native of Aboo Arish, the eldest of sixteen brothers, most of whom are now living, having each from six to eight children. Many of these hold very distinguished commands throughout the provinces, and

* The real name of this chief was Abd' ul' Hukal; he was called Abu Nookta, or "Father *blind-eye*," from the loss of one of his eyes.

one of them is supposed to be destined by the government for the office of Dola of Mocha. Such extensive connections, in a country where the ties of kindred are held almost as sacred as in the patriarchal ages, render this chieftain very powerful, and give him an almost unlimited sway over the affairs of the country.

This sudden and important change of rulers was not however acknowledged at Mocha. Sultaun Hassan, a slave of the late vizier, had for an unusual length of time been Dola of this place, and for some years back had not only been very remiss in his returns of revenue to Sana, but, as was evident from his strengthening the fortifications, and building a new castellated house at the expense of forty thousand dollars, had entertained intentions of postponing the period of his return, and, if possible, of rendering himself independent. With such views, the deposition of his patron, and the accession of a more vigorous administration, were by no means consistent, and in consequence he openly refused, whilst the old Imaum should survive, to acknowledge any but his superior authority.

At this period, the struggle against the Wahabee and the necessity of strengthening himself in his government precluded Sydee Achmed from any active measure of resentment. In the mean time he was not remiss in preparing a force that might be ready to carry his future intentions into execution; and for this purpose five thousand men were raised under his orders by Ali Suad, the chief of Uddeen.

On the other side, Sultaun Hassan was equally alert, and in order to augment his force, raised about fifteen hundred Abada soldiers, by permission of Sultaun Hamed, in the territories of Aden. These troops, when joined to the troops before commanded by Sultaun Hassan, formed an army of about three thousand men, which in a fortified town, were likely to make a formidable resistance, against opponents who had no cannon to bring into the field. To support this force, he was under the necessity of raising contributions upon the merchants, by very unjustifiable means, against which, as far as the Banians under British protection were concerned, our resident, Captain Rudland, made a very spirited remon-

strance, and this, as will always be the case, when urged with a due degree of firmness and temper, had a very sensible effect in restraining the Dola's injustice.

This uncertain state of affairs continued till September, when they were brought to a crisis by a strange concurrence of events, which in their progress strongly mark the anxious desire to avoid the shedding of blood, which characterises the natives of Yemen, except in those instances where personal resentment is concerned.

On September the 7th, the Vizier's brother, after several vain attempts to prevail upon the Dola to desist from measures hostile to the government, seized the opportunity, as he was taking refreshments in the evening, to give into the Dola's hands an order from the government to deliver up the command of Mocha to Syed Guderat, the Emir Muckatah, or commander of the troops. This dangerous commission was no sooner executed than he hastily withdrew; and as soon as the Dola saw the contents of the order, he called aloud to his soldiers to pursue the fugitive; but before they could overtake him he had, fortunately for himself, reached the Emir's house.

This officer on the following day went to the Dola, attended by an adequate guard, and officially required him to deliver up his charge. This the Dola still declined; and a reference was then made to the troops, to ascertain whose authority they would recognise; on this the old Mocha troops declared their acquiescence in the order from Sana, and in consequence delivered up the gates: the mercenary troops from Aden still remained attached to the Dola.

On the same day an attack was made by the latter on the Emir's house, to which it was proposed to set fire, but on the approach of the party, and on one of the soldiers being wounded, the intention was abandoned. Soon afterwards, an assembly of the principal men in the town took place, and with some difficulty a suspension of hostilities was agreed upon, till reference could again be made to Sana; and a tom-tom was sent round the town to promulgate this satisfactory intelligence among the inhabitants.

Though it may readily be conceived that so precarious a state of affairs rendered a residence at Mocha very un-

pleasant, yet it did not make so material an alteration in our situation at the factory as might have been expected. During a few days we were put to some inconvenience by the gates being shut, and all supplies of fruit, vegetables, and water, being denied; but as we were able to keep up an uninterrupted communication with the ship, we did not suffer from this privation in any degree, compared with what the inhabitants themselves endured. It was not indeed considered very safe to extend our walks through the town, and yet, though we still continued this practice, not a single insult or outrage occurred.

To add to the distresses of the Dola, a son of Sheriffe Hamood came down from Aboo Arish, early in October, to demand a sum of eight thousand dollars due to the government. A claim had been made some months before of four thousand, which having met with no attention, the government doubled the demand, and declared at the same time, that if it were not paid within a month, it should be augmented to sixteen thousand. To raise this money, the Dola went so far as to arrest all the hamauls, (porters) and keepers of coffee-houses; and he was actually brutal enough to keep some of these poor people, who had no money, in prison, until their friends came forward with the ransom required for their release.

As the period approached for the answer from Sana, considerable agitation prevailed in the town; wood, water, and provisions being laid in by the inhabitants as preparatory for a siege. Similar precautions were taken by Captain Rudland, but on the 31st of October all existing differences were unexpectedly put an end to, by accounts arriving from Sana of the death of the old Imaum, Ali el Mansoor. He died the 25th of October, at the age of eighty-five, after reigning thirty-five years; and his son Achmed then came into undisputed possession of the throne, on which occasion he assumed the title of "Sydee Achmed Ameer al Mookmun ul metwokkel Allah Rubbil Ailameen!"*

All pretext for disobedience being by this event removed, the Dola returned to his allegiance, and great re-

* Vide for the history of this family, Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie. p. 170, *et seq.*

joicings were made on account of the accession of the new sovereign. At my request Captain Weatherhead fired a royal salute from the Marian, which was returned by an equal number of guns from one of the forts in the town, and during this day and the three following, there was a continual firing of cannon and musquetry, with other tokens of festivity. The inhabitants were all dressed out in their holiday clothes, and a gaiety spread itself through the town that strongly confirms the remark made by Niebuhr, "que les Arabes d' Yemen sont plus vifs que ceux d'Hedjas et infiniment plus que les Turcs;"* which indeed in its full extent is perfectly true.

A short time after this the Dola made his peace at court, and gradually dismissed his Abada troops, and thus with the loss I believe, of only one life, a rebellious commotion was terminated; that without much mutual forbearance, must have occasioned a most serious catastrophe.

The conduct of the young Imaum on his father's death was very conciliating to his subjects. A great portion of the taxes were in different provinces remitted for the ensuing year, all past offences forgiven, and liberal largesses distributed among his adherents, which served to give a very favourable impression both of his talents and his disposition. His whole behaviour indeed, throughout the arduous struggle in which he had been engaged, evidently evinced a superior degree of sagacity, and more judgment than might have been expected from the education which he had received; as Arabs of high rank, however important may be the situations they are destined to fill, are generally taught to place little reliance on their own abilities, and to trust too exclusively, perhaps, to the aid of providence for their support.

During our stay at Mocha I employed myself occasionally in gaining information respecting the countries of Efat and Hurrur, situated to the south-eastward of that portion of Abyssinia to which I was about to proceed, and the result of my enquiries proved even more interesting than I had reason to expect. Among the

* The Arabs of Yemen are more lively than those of Hedjas, and infinitely more so than the Turks.

strangers resident at Mocha I met with a respectable old man, named Hadjee Abdelkauder, an inhabitant of Hurrur, then acting as commercial agent to the Sultaun of that country. This man was one of the best informed and most liberal-minded Mahomedans I have ever been acquainted with, though he did not appear to be particularly fitted for the situation he held, owing to his possessing a strange carelessness with respect to pecuniary concerns, very uncommon among his countrymen. He had read a great deal for an Arab. His powers of comprehension and personal activity were very extraordinary for his years, (which I conceive must have bordered on seventy) and there was besides a certain vivacity and drollery in his manner that rendered his conversation singularly agreeable. I once began a sketch of his features, but before it could be completed he found out my intention, and ran away, laughing and shaking his head, saying "he was too old and too ugly;" nor could he ever again be induced to sit quiet when he saw a pencil in my hand. At the time he became known to me he was suffering severely from ulcerations in his legs, a disease which very frequently occurs in this climate; but, by the daily use of a caustic application, which in the Red Sea is always found to be extremely beneficial, he received so much relief that his gratitude became unbounded.

From this man, and another person named Hadjee Belal, who had also acted as a commercial agent to the Sultaun of Hurrur, and who afterwards attended me on my journey to Abyssinia, I learnt so many curious particulars respecting the natives of the former country, as well as of the Galla and other tribes in its neighbourhood, that I resolved, from repeated assurances of its practicability, to send a person into that part of Africa by the way of Zeyla. It was my intention that he should direct his way through Hurrur into Efat, and thence proceed, if it could be effected, to join me in the neighbourhood of Gondar or Antalo, as circumstances might direct, while I determined, if possible, to return by the same route.

I was enabled to execute the former part of this scheme without putting the government to any additional ex-

pense, through a power which the African Association had vested in me to draw upon it for a sum not exceeding five hundred pounds, and fortunately, there was a young man named Stuart, on board the Marian, who had joined us at the Cape, who appeared to me well qualified for such an employment. I accordingly engaged him to undertake the enterprise, and drew up a detail of instructions for his guidance, which has since been approved of by the Society in a manner highly gratifying to my feelings.

On this occasion I addressed letters to the Sultaun of Hurrur and the Murd'azimaj of Efat, which were confided to Mr. Stuart's care. An Arab servant was engaged to attend him, (who spoke English very fluently) and they were supplied with every requisite for their journey out of my own store. It also happened at this time that Hadjee Abdelkauder himself was about to return, and he agreed, at my request, to take charge of the party on its way as far as Hurrur. The result of this expedition, and the information obtained in the course of it, will, for the sake of a clearer arrangement, be given to the reader on my return to Mocha.

As November passed away, and we received no intelligence respecting the messenger sent to Abyssinia, (excepting a report that Yunus Baralli had been imprisoned by the Nayib) I began to feel extremely impatient and somewhat alarmed, till at length, all my preparations being completed, and the Marian waiting my orders, I resolved at all hazard to pass over immediately to the African coast, where it was my intention to enter Abyssinia by the way of Amphila rather than by that of Massowa. To this determination I was led by the decided opinion of Captain Rudland on its eligibility, and my own experience of the difficulties attending the other route, which were not likely to have been decreased by the circumstance of a Turkish Aga being in command of the Island. The reasons which afterwards induced me to alter this determination will best appear in the regular narrative of subsequent transactions.

On December the 7th, we took leave of our friends at the factory, and went on board the Marian.

CHAPTER IV.

Voyage across the Red Sea from Mocha—Anchorage at Rackmah—Proceedings at Ayth—Continuance of Voyage to Amphila—Intelligence received there—Failure of an attempt to communicate with Abyssinia by a messenger I had sent from Mocha—Atrocious conduct of the Nayib and Aga of Massowa—Letter sent by these Chieftains to the Danákil Tribes—Its Effects—Conference with Alli Manda, a young Chief of the Tribe of Dumhoeta—His Departure with letters for the Ras Welled Selassé. Discovery of a secure Harbour in Amphila Bay—Communications with Alli Govéta, and other men of consequence on the Coast—Return of Alli Manda—Letters from Mr. Pearce—Resolutions in consequence—Conference with the principal men of the Tribes—Arrival of a messenger from Massowa—Determination to proceed to that Place—Second Dispatch to Abyssinia. Description of the Bay of Amphila—of the Coast—Manners, Dress, and Customs of the Tribes who inhabit it—Departure from Amphila.

ON Friday, December 8th, at four in the morning, we weighed anchor from Mocha Roads, and stood over to the coast of Abyssinia, accompanied by the ship's launch, which our Captain had fitted out with schooner rigging as a tender, steering W. ¾ S. with a strong gale from the southward. The sea ran very high in mid-channel, but as we approached the Abyssinian shore, the water became smooth, and the wind more moderate, which is customary in crossing this part of the sea, however hard it may blow on the Arabian side. At nine, we found ourselves close in with Ras Béloul, and after crossing the Bay, which appears to be free from shoals, we stretched along shore, at about three leagues distance, in fifteen fathoms, until we reached Rackmah, when we rounded the point of the first island, and came to an anchor in four fathoms, hard ground. This anchorage, which will be found accurately laid down in the chart, cannot be considered as affording good shelter, even against a southerly wind, and with any other it might prove extremely dangerous. The inner harbour offers more secure holding ground, but in order to get into it, a bar with two fathoms and a half must be passed over, which renders it useless, except, in cases of necessity,

for small vessels. Pliny's 'Portus Isidis,' marked by four islands, seems to answer to the description of Rackmah, and in his time myrrh was brought down to it by the Troglodytes, or Bedowee, (vide Nat. Hist. p. 143;) it is also in all probability the port often mentioned by the Portuguese, under the name of the harbour of Veila or Beila. Thermometer at mid-day 78°.

December 9th. We got under way at sun-rise, and with a cool refreshing gale continued to coast along the shore. We passed the Abaiels, and steered our course inside the southern Island of Kudaly; and at two in the afternoon came to an anchor off the village of Ayth. There scarcely can exist a worse place for anchorage than Ayth, the road lying perfectly open, and, when the wind blows from the southern quarter, a heavy sea running along the coast, which, as the ground is foul, makes the riding extremely dangerous.

Soon after our arrival we sent a boat on shore, and gained intelligence, that the gelve I had dispatched from Mocha still remained at Amphila, that Yunus was dead, (having, as was generally reported, been poisoned,) and that my messenger had failed in obtaining an intercourse with the Ras, owing to the interference of the Nayib of Massowa, and that the latter had sent down two armed dows to attempt the seizure of Yunus's boat, and to prevent the English from opening a communication with Abyssinia, by the way of Amphila.

This information was given me by Wursum, the son of Yunus, who on the death of his father had succeeded, according to the customs of the Somauli, to the command of the boat. This young man had come down to Ayth, for the purpose of performing the last duties to his deceased father, who having married a woman of a Dankali tribe, belonging to this village, had, on his being taken ill, retired to her house to die. The death of this faithful Somauli considerably affected me, as the valuable services he had rendered us in the Panther, and the gratitude he had shewn for some slight favours since conferred, had given me more confidence in his attachment than in that of any other of the natives in my employ.

The village of Ayth, which consists of about forty huts only, forms the capital of a district governed by a Sheik,

who, at this time, from the computation of the natives, was said to be an hundred years old. Our super-cargo, who had been on shore, described him as a most venerable old man, of mild and friendly manners. He represented the people as a stout and well featured race, but miserably poor, and he was told, that, as no grain is cultivated on the coast, and very little imported, their food consists almost entirely of fish, milk, and occasionally, though very rarely, of goat's flesh. The tribe is one of the Danákil, and said to be called Adoole, consisting of about two hundred persons, men, women and children, of whom a part resides on the islands of Dahalac, Valentia, and Howakil. The only communication which subsists between Ayth and Abyssinia lies by the way of Madir, a village situated at the bottom of the Bay of Amphila. Therm. 76, Var. 9° 50′, W.

On December 10th, I sent in the morning a small present to the Sheik, and gave Wursum money to defray the expenses of his father's funeral. We afterwards weighed anchor from Ayth roads, and proceeded under easy sail round the outside of the northern Kudaly, a high and steep island, about six miles from the continent. The tender, with one of our mates, sailed within the island, by which means we ascertained that a passage exists between it and the main land, full half a mile broad, with five fathoms water. On the coast, a little to the westward of this passage, wells of fresh water are said to be found, which are much frequented by the natives who navigate this sea.

The shore from Rackmah to Ras Kussar lies flat and low, but is bounded by high mountains at no great distance in the interior. A dangerous reef of rocks projects from Ras Kussar about three miles in a north-east direction, unnoticed in Captain Court's chart: from this dangerous reef the name of "Kussar" is probably derived, as the word in Arabic signifies 'broken.' In passing it we had only four fathoms, though at the time we were full five miles from the point of land. Not being able to reach Amphila before sunset, Captain Weatherhead thought it best to put the ship under easy sail, and to lie to for the night, which, with the knowledge now existing of the coast, may here be safely ventured.

On the 11th, in the morning, it became nearly calm, but as soon as the sea-breeze sprung up, we made sail, and reached Amphila by twelve o'clock. We passed the first island in nine fathoms water, at about one mile distant, and came to an anchor between the second and third islands in six fathoms, in a situation sheltered from the north-west, but open to the east winds. As this anchorage lay exposed to a heavy sea, the Captain immediately proceeded to examine the bay, which had not been before surveyed, with the hope of discovering a more secure harbour, and we sent a boat on shore, which brought off Hadjee Alli in the evening.

Hadjee Alli appeared to be in a very miserable plight, and gave me a most pitiable account of the disasters which had befallen him. He told me that he had attempted to penetrate into Abyssinia, and had actually advanced one day's journey for that purpose, when a letter arrived from the Nayib Idris and the Turkish Aga stationed at Massowa, addressed to the chiefs of the country, which produced so much altercation and alarm, as to render it impossible for him to proceed. He had subsequently procured a copy of this letter from Alli Govéta, and as it affected my future proceedings, I shall here lay a literal translation of it before the reader.

Translation of a Letter from Nayib Idris and Omar Aga, chiefs commanding at Massowa (without date) to the chieftains of the Bedowee tribes in the neighbourhood of Amphila: (directed "to the land of the Dumhoeta") received by them on or about the fifteenth Showad, A. H. 1224 (Nov. 8th 1809.)

To Audku brother of Ahmed sons of Aysa Mahomed, Alli Govéta son of Káeena, Mukáin Ali son of Nukeeta, Aysa, 'Nacodar,' ('master of a dow') son of Alli Kiefar, Dittah Sáleh son of Moomin Mahomed, and all intelligent men of the tribe of Dumhoeta, upon whom rest the blessing of God. Amen.

I have before written to you all and many times on the subject of your transactions with the Eng-

lish (Feringi) and their Wakeel Yunus Beralli. The same sentiments I now again repeat.

I understand, Yunus Beralli has lately been at Amphila with English property. I am much displeased you did not acquaint me of this in due time, and, should he ever return on a similar duty, I desire you will immediately inform me of it; as it is my intention to detach a party of soldiers to apprehend him, and bring him prisoner to Massowa.

If any property belonging to the English (Feringi) should again be brought into your districts or towns, seize it and *kill the persons in charge of it*, and all the property you may thus obtain divide equally among yourselves.

I conclude, by again addressing the people of Bellesua and Russamo, as it is my anxious wish to renew our relations of friendship. To my former letters on this subject you have given me no reply. This grieves me exceedingly, *as we are true believers in the same good faith;* therefore it is sinful not to be friends.

Signed and sealed,
NAYIB IDRIS
OMAR AGA.

Copied by Hadjee Alli, from the original in the hands of Alli Govéta; which copy is now in my possession.

Though I was not surprised at the intemperate and hostile tone of this letter, yet it gave me considerable uneasiness, as it seemed probable that it might hinder my taking the two pieces of cannon with which I was charged into the country, should I be compelled to go to Massowa, if not altogether prevent my advance.

Notwithstanding what had passed, the chief of this district, Alli Govéta, still remained friendly to the English, and declared to Hadjee Alli that he was indifferent to the threats of the Nayib, "being a son of the hills, and having people enough to secure him against any at-

tack." Hadjee Alli, however, had been too much alarmed to rely on this security, and therefore had absolutely refused to attempt the journey a second time. It appeared from further inquiries that a quarrel had existed between him and Yunus's sons; each accusing the other of the failure of the business on which they had been dispatched. As the blame appeared to me to rest with Hadjee, I immediately discharged him, and he returned by the first conveyance to Mocha.

On the 13th I dispatched a letter in Arabic to Alli Govéta, who was then at Aréna, one of the chief residences of his tribe, lying at the bottom of the Bay of Howakil, three days journey by land distant from Madir. In this letter I expressed my desire to see him immediately, that we might confer on the subject of my journey into Abyssinia, and I inclosed two letters for him to forward to the Ras and Mr. Pearce, written in English, for the purpose of preventing any unpleasant consequences should they by chance fall into the hands of the Nayib.

This dispatch to Alli Govéta was rendered in some degree unnecessary by the arrival on the 14th of a young chieftain, named Alli Manda,* who proved to be a nephew of Alli Govéta, holding the command of a district on the mountains, over which the road lies to Abyssinia. He was a young man who possessed a strong and lively expression in his countenance, and was dressed in a striped silk garment, made after the fashion of the upper country. His manners were completely Abyssinian. He displayed the same affectation in holding his garment over the mouth, customary among the higher orders in that country, the same kind of stately reserve which on a first interview they assume, and, on being satisfied with his reception, discovered the same open and unrestrained love of conviviality which characterises that singular people.

In the course of conversation I learned that Alli Manda was the person who had accompanied Hadjee Alli on his way into the country. They had proceeded only one

* I found on subsequent inquiry, that the name of 'Alli' was a title given to most of the chiefs on this coast; expressing the same thing as 'Ayto' in the Abyssinian, 'Sydee' in Arabic, and 'Sir' or 'Mr.' in the English language.

day's journey, when the latter grew frightened at the wild manners of the natives, and under pretence of apprehension from the Nayib, determined to return. At the same time he had refused to deliver up my letters to Alli Manda, and had written a foolish one in Arabic, which was forwarded by an inferior messenger; the young chief himself being too proud to "become a carrier," as he expressed it, "of any other than English letters." The consequence, which resulted from the arrival of this letter in the country, proved that the Ras paid no attention to its contents, as he declared, "that he could not descend to correspond with an Arab."

Alli Manda concluded his narrative by expressing great satisfaction at my arrival, and proposed to depart immediately with any letters I might wish to forward, saying "he would stake his life on delivering them safe to the Ras;" at the same time he begged that I would defer all idea of remuneration until his return. I was so much struck with the boldness and openness of his behaviour that I immediately determined to trust him, and accordingly prepared a letter for the Ras, at the top of which I drew the Abyssinian cross and characters usually prefixed to their epistles, and confided it, together with those written at Mocha, to his care. After partaking of some refreshments, and amusing himself with looking at some pictures, with which he seemed greatly delighted, he departed, accompanied, at his own desire, by Hadjee Belal, a native of Hurrur, before mentioned, whom he wished to attend him as a witness of his proceedings.

The latter subsequently proved as unequal to the undertaking as my former messenger, for on the 23d he returned alone, after having advanced only three days journey, at the end of which he was compelled by fatigue to give up the attempt. He informed me that the young chief travelled night and day "like a dromedary," so that he found it totally impracticable to keep pace with him. At parting, Alli Manda made free to borrow from the Hadjee his shield and cummerband, under pretence that he might have occasion for them, a conduct which produced so much alarm in the old man's mind, that it led him to expect assassination every step he took on his return. I could not help pitying his difficulties and dis-

asters, though it may be observed that the Arabs bred in towns are generally feeble, and irresolute, so that it is probable these hardships were greatly exaggerated.

Since the day of our arrival at Amphila, Captain Weatherhead had been actively engaged in examining the bay and in sounding among the islands, with the hope of finding a better anchorage for the ship; and on the 13th his zeal and perseverance were rewarded by the discovery of a secure harbour, a circumstance peculiarly fortunate, from the probability of our being obliged to remain a considerable time at this station. In the afternoon of the 15th, buoys having been previously laid down to mark the passage, the ship was taken safely into the harbour, which, to our great delight, proved to be a perfect bason, and, in remembrance of our voyage, we named it English Harbour. From this time the captain and myself dedicated the greater part of our leisure to the survey of the bay, its islands, and shoals, and the result of our labours enabled me to lay down the accompanying chart. The main points were fixed by my own observations taken with a theodolite on shore; and the shoals and soundings were ascertained by Captain Weatherhead. As the subject is not interesting to the generality of readers, I shall insert further particulars relative to the navigation of the Bay in the body of the chart itself.

On Saturday the 16th, the Dola of Madir, a brother of Alli Govéta, visited me on board the ship. His first appearance did not prepossess me much in his favour. Being a thin, tall, and elderly man, with a sharp hooked nose, and an eye like that of a vulture. I saw at a glance that he might prove troublesome, and therefore, by way of securing his good will, made him a larger present than I had before intended, consisting of a remnant of broad cloth, some juwarry, coffee and coarse cloth. In the evening a large ox was sent from the shore, charged at ten dollars, which was in fine condition, and yielded 260lbs. of beef. This, as well as the rest of the cattle procured during our stay, was brought up from Aréna; the country round Madir yielding neither water nor pasturage for their support.

On Friday the 22d, in the morning, three dows appear-

ed in sight, two from the southward, and one from the opposite direction. As our reports from Massowa had been unfavourable, the Captain thought it right to go out in the schooner to reconnoitre them; the two former proved to be from Muscat, on a trading voyage to the Dahalac Islands, and the other came from Massowa. The latter brought a report that three hundred Ascari had arrived from Jidda in armed dows, the destination of which was unknown; that another Sirdar had taken the command of the island, and that the Nayib had in consequence retired to Arkeeko, feeling an equal dread of the Sheriffe of Mecca on the one side, and of Ras Welled Selassé on the other; the latter, in consequence of the detention of some goods intended for him, which had been forwarded by Hadjee Hamood, having sent down, a short time before, the following laconic message, "Send up the goods, or in a few days I will be with you:" a threat which had occasioned considerable alarm. It appeared from the same quarter, that our arrival at Amphila was known at Massowa.

On the same day at noon I was visited by Alli Govéta and two of his people, who had arrived in the morning from Aréna. This chief appeared to be about sixty years of age; he was a large muscular man, with a heavy expression of countenance, and great affectation of gravity in his manner. After he had taken some biscuits and porter, this apparent reserve gradually wore off, though he still remained dull and consequential.

The usual compliments having passed, we entered into some conversation on the subject of my mission. I informed him that I had four years before visited Abyssinia by the way of Massowa. That Ras Welled Selassé had sent, through me, a letter in the name of the Emperor addressed to the King of England; and that on the delivery of this letter I had been appointed by His Majesty to take charge of an answer and of presents in return. I proceeded to represent, that, at the time I had resided with the Ras, he had informed me, that the road by Buré was preferable to the route by Massowa; and that, in conformity with this information, and a knowledge of the subsequent intercourse which had taken place between the Danákil tribes and Captain Rudland,

I had determined, if he would ensure me a safe protection, to attempt a passage through their districts, otherwise I should proceed immediately to Massowa; and that I felt assured that neither the Nayib nor the Sirdar, however much they might be so inclined, would dare to molest me, at a time, when the Grand Seignor and the Sheriffe of Mecca were both at peace with the English nation.

Alli Govéta having listened attentively to this speech, answered me very deliberately to the following effect: "that a considerable time had now elapsed since an Englishman (alluding to Mr. Benzoni) had come over to Madir, who had been met by another Englishman (Mr. Pearce) from Abyssinia; that in consequnce of their concurrent representations of the advantages likely to accrue to his country, he had consented to open the road, and to send a sufficient guard to secure their property up to the borders of Abyssinia. That in return, promises had been made him of considerable presents, which he had never received, and that Mr. Pearce had since been doing him great mischief with the Ras." He added, "that soon after this had occurred, he had received from the Nayib the extraordinary letter I have already given, a copy of which he had forwarded to me, and that, should he accede to my wishes, he expected that the Nayib would come up in force against him, in which case he should feel at a loss in what manner to act."

In reply I observed, that if he were dependent on the Nayib, I was far from wishing him to subject his people to such an alternative; but that I was assured he was perfectly free from any control of this nature, otherwise I should have proceeded immediately to Massowa, and have treated with the Nayib himself. He said, "it was well, he liked few words. He was under no restraint; but then, why had I sent a messenger to the Ras previously to his arrival, as he would have done it much more expeditiously than Alli Manda?" I asked him in what time he could have effected it? he answered, "in five and twenty days; it being a long distance from Antalo to Adowa, where he understood the Ras then resided." I told him that I knew the distance pretty accurately, as I had travelled it myself three different times in the space

of five days. "Allah!" said he, with a look of surprise, "can it be possible!"

This gave rise to a fresh difficulty. "The Ras was at war with a tribe on the road under a chief called Subegadis." This I told him I also knew, and mentioned the particulars of the family quarrels related in my former journey into Abyssinia. My knowledge on this subject seemed to make a considerable impression upon him, and he desisted from making any further attempts to deceive.

The subject of presents was next discussed, on which point it requires an uncommon share of patience to listen, even with seeming attention, to this people. A demand for an additional piece of cloth for an attendant, payment for a bullock, which they pretended had been lost on its way to the ship, and many other such miserable subterfuges, succeeding each other for nearly two hours, protracted our coming to any arrangement. At length I had the good fortune to satisfy him with regard to these *important* matters, and it was finally settled, that, for adequate remuneration, he should do all in his power to promote my views.

To confirm the agreement, I consented, by the advice of Wursum, whom I found to be thoroughly acquainted with the customs of this tribe, to go through a ceremony, said to possess great effect in binding these people to their engagements, which consisted in respectively laying our hands on the Bible and the Koran, and mutually promising a lasting friendship. From this moment Alli Govêta declared, that the Dumhoeta considered themselves and the English as brothers. On his going away we saluted him with three guns, which seemed to afford great satisfaction.

On the 19th I had found it necessary to send the super-cargo of our vessel in Wursum's boat across the sea to Hodeida, for the purpose of procuring an additional supply of coarse cloth, which forms an indispensable article of barter on this coast; but on the 23d, I had the disappointment to see it return without accomplishing the object in view. After leaving us two days, the winds had been found to blow directly contrary to those we experienced; and on attempting to get across the sea from

Ayth, the weather in mid-channel became so tempestuous and adverse, that the boat, owing to its being in danger of swamping, was compelled to put back.

On the 24th, I went on shore to return the visit of Alli Govéta; and on approaching the village of Madir, which consists of a few miserable huts only, the old man came out to meet me, accompanied by the Dola of the place, and about twenty savages before him, dancing and shaking their spears, by way of doing me honour, and in the midst of this rabble I was conducted to the largest of the huts. After the usual compliments, an interval of silence ensued, during which Alli Govéta dropped asleep, and the Dola busied himself in sewing up a new garment, while the natives of the place, gaping with astonishment, crowded in to catch a sight of us. I remained a short time amused with the singularity of the scene, which was as complete a burlesque on court-ceremony as can well be conceived; and on departing was presented with a bullock, as a present from the chief. The next day, being Christmas day, we dressed out the ship with all the flags we could muster, feasted on roast beef and plum-pudding, and drank a bumper to the health of all our friends in England.

Thursday 28th.—For the purpose of more conveniently receiving visitors, I pitched two tents on an island, which we called Marian, from that ship having been the first to enter the harbour. In the course of the ensuing fortnight we had constant intercourse with the shore, during which period the Dola and others annoyed us by their frequent attempts to obtain fresh presents. Alli Govéta also began to express much anxiety for the return of Alli Manda, and in this anxiety I very feelingly participated, as during the whole of this time I was under the necessity of providing for the party which had come down from Aréna, the resources of Madir being scarcely equal to its own supply.

At last, on Saturday the 6th of January, intelligence arrived of the return of Alli Manda, and shortly afterwards he came off with the Dola, bringing a packet of letters addressed to me from Mr. Pearce. An hour nearly elapsed before I could prevail upon them to deliver up

these letters, the Dola striving with singular cunning to obtain a sum of money previously to their delivery, with which I peremptorily refused to comply, till at last by raising my voice, and affecting great irritation, I prevailed upon Alli Manda to give them up. These letters are written in a manner so strongly characteristic of the writer, that I shall without hesitation lay them before the reader in his own words.

"SIR,

"I received your letter by the hand of Alli Manda, and I can assure you that it gave me the greatest happiness to hear you are well.

"I shall now tell you the best and safest way into this country: the road you mention by Buré is impracticable for any goods or person to travel safe. It is under no government. What little baggage I brought up by that road was almost totally destroyed, and it was by the help of God that I came safe off with my life.

"The only road into this country is by Massowa, which is frequented by the cáfila. Buré was formerly the road of the cáfila, but many of the people were killed by the Arata Bedowee. The Ras has no power whatever lower than where the salt comes from, which is Upper Buré. Massowa is at present on very good terms, and the best road that can be travelled.

"The Ras desires his respects to you; and as soon as you forward the answer he will send with me all the means of conveyance that you mention in your letter.

"I am sorry to inform you that Basha Abdalla is a great rascal. He has not the least friendship with the Nayib. Hadjee Hamed in the only person who can manage things with the Nayib.

"A man* from Rome came to the Ras desiring a pass to Sennaar, which he would have given,

* This man proved to be a Frenchman. He returned via Suakin. H. S.

had I not persuaded him to be aware of such persons, when he ordered him to return to Massowa, where you may meet with him if you come soon.

"I send no farther particulars, as I hope by the blessing of God, before three weeks to have the happiness to meet you at Massowa, which is only six days distant from here by the new road. I am,

SIR,

your most odedient

and humble Servant,

NATHANIEL PEARCE.

Chelicut, December 29th, 1809.

"The Ras says, that every day seems like a year until he shall meet you.

SECOND LETTER.

"SIR,

"As I am anxious to dispatch your messenger, and my paper is in Antalo, I write on this coarse paper to inform you that the letter by Alli Manda is the only thing I have received, and you say tobacco and cloth was sent, which I have not received. Alli Manda, I and Mr. Benzoni know to be a great rogue, though he has brought this letter safely to us.

"I shall now give you further advice, with respect to what you mention 'that the Nayib of Massowa will not allow the guns to pass his country, from the apprehension of their being employed against him.' The only way is to make good presents to Alli Govéta, Alli Manda, and his friends, so that they with camels and mules may bring you up one day's journey to the salt plain, where I will meet you with a thousand of the Ras's people.

"I am advised by every body not to go down, at present, until I receive your answer. I have a great many enemies in Arata, through my stubbornness when I left Mr. Benzoni, so that I myself am doubtful of that one day between me and you. If I was with you at present, I would not

be afraid, as three or four good Englishmen with arms would beat the whole country of Bedowee; but I alone, what could I do, as the Ras's people are not willing to go down with me?

"If you are determined to come by this road, tell me the day that you will leave the coast, and I will be very near to you at the same time. I can assure you that the Ras is very anxious to see you, and that he would come down himself in case there was sufficient provisions and water for his cavalry and people. I am also very anxious to come down to you alone, could I be permitted by my well-wishers here.

"I think, Sir, you may be able by presents to reach the salt plain, called Arro, which is one day only from Madir. The expense of coming to this can be but little, as it is but a trifling distance, after which all you wish for shall be done. I can assure you I do every thing in my power for my country. I have written three times to Captain Rudland by Buré; but have received no answer.

"Excuse this bad paper,* but it is better than delaying time.

I am, Sir, &c.

NATHANIEL PEARCE.

Chelicut, December 29, 1809.

P. S. "In case *you are determined* to come this road beware Alli Manda and his friends, as we are at great variance, and blood lies upon me in their country.† Should you make friends with him, I will come down at his return; let what ever will happen."

It may readily be conceived that I did not communicate the contents of these letters to Alli Manda; though he pressed me on the subject from being perfectly aware of the enmity of Mr. Pearce. On the contrary I assur-

* This letter was written on cartridge paper.

† The circumstance to which this alludes will be related in Mr. Pearce's Journal.

ed him that every thing had happened according to my wishes, and I presented him, for his services, forty dollars and ten pieces of cloth, with which he appeared tolerably well satisfied. Some spruce-beer, an additional present of tobacco, and a few flattering compliments put him into such complete good humour that he declared himself ready to undertake any other commission with which I might entrust him; and to confirm his fidelity laid his hand on the Koran, a circumstance which gave me assurance, notwithstanding the character given of him by Mr. Pearce, that he might prove a valuable assistant in promoting my future plans.

Alli Manda had found the Ras at Chelicut, who the instant he saw the cross with the Æthiopic characters at the top of my letter exclaimed, "Saul*—Saul—nobody can have written this letter but Saul." He was equally delighted at its contents, and ordered a fine mule and thirty pieces of cloth to be given to the young man as a recompense for its delivery. Immediately after this Mr. Pearce wrote his first letter in answer, subsequently to which some altercation took place between him and the Ras, the former being very averse from my attempting the road by Buré, and it was in consequence of what passed on this occasion that Mr. Pearce wrote the second letter, in which he consents to attempt the passage if I should be "*determined*" to prefer it to that by Massowa. As this was a point which required serious consideration and a fresh interview with Alli Govéta and the other Danákil chiefs, I appointed to meet them at the tents on the following Monday.

Accordingly on that day I went on shore, but found only Alli Manda waiting to receive me. He informed me, that Alli Govéta and the other chiefs were so much incensed at his having brought my letter without their consent, that they had resolved not to meet me at the island, and had desired him to say, if I had any propositions to make, that I must come over to Madir, otherwise I was welcome to leave the place. I sent them word in answer, that I certainly should adopt the latter

* This was the appellation by which I was generally known in Abyssinia on my first visit.

course, if they persisted in such a resolution. That I positively would not go to Madir, and that, unless they chose to meet me on the island, I would immediately proceed to Massowa.

Alli Manda undertook to convey this message, and said, that as the remainder of the day and probably the night might be consumed in discussing the matter, he would on the following morning either bring the refractory chiefs, or return himself and assist me in arranging my future proceedings. They, however, were not so inflexible as he had expected; for in the evening Wursum came off with an apology from the discontented party, and a promise that they would meet me at the tents by eight o'clock on the following morning. The wind having come round to the northward during the day, I dispatched Wursum's boat a second time to Mocha.

On the 9th, I went to the island, and found Alli Govéta waiting my arrival with about eighteen of the principal chiefs belonging to the neighbouring tribes. On their being seated, Alli Govéta congratulated me on my having received communications from Abyssinia, and wished to be informed what I had to propose.

I told him that my letters proved very satisfactory, that the Ras, delighted at my arrival, had expressed a strong desire that I would hasten to him as speedily as possible, and that as he entertained a great friendship for the Dumhoeta he wished me to enter Abyssinia through their territory. To facilitate my journey, he had promised, could I agree with them for a passage, to send down a thousand of his people to meet me at Durra, a station three days journey only from Madir. Before I should state, however, my intentions on the subject, I had a few observations to make to which I begged their particular attention. I was commissioned to carry a letter and presents into Abyssinia, for which my life was answerable, from one of the most powerful sovereigns in the world, whose ships covered the waters. That they must, therefore, fully understand, that should any injury be done to me or any person under my protection during our passage through their territory, certain destruction would fall on those concerned in its perpetration, as the Ras

stood pledged for our security, and England was a nation which never permitted an injury done to her subjects to pass without severe retaliation. This being fully understood, I had to demand whether any of those present could pledge themselves to secure us a safe passage through the country?

Alli Govéta asked if I had done, and on being answered in the affirmative, he said very gravely, "Tabinte!* "(mark you!) I have sworn on the Koran to be your "friend, and I will tell you the truth. We cannot give "you a passage; and this is the reason. An English-"man came here some time ago, with goods for Abyssi-"nia. We consented to protect them to the Ras's do-"minions; and we did so. We were promised an am-"ple reward and we received nothing. Mark you! "The Dumhoeta will not serve any nation on such "terms."

I returned him thanks for this frank avowal. I wished only for the truth, and I was satisfied with his reply; but though we could not pass through their country, I expressed a hope that we might continue friends. Before we parted, however, I felt desirous of pointing out the difference between the station I filled and that of the person with whom he had formerly dealt. Mr. Benzoni was engaged in trade. I was not prepared to answer for his acts. I stood before them as the wakeel of a sovereign, and had simply to execute my own commission. They knew how I had rewarded Alli Manda, and I should remunerate others in proportion to their services.

The Dola immediately took up the conversation: "We are," said he, "a people consisting of many Kur-"reas,† (tribes) and each has several head men. You "now see those belonging to the Dumhoeta, besides "which may be reckoned the Taieméla and the Hada-"rem, who have agreed with us to leave the settlement "of this business to Alli Govéta and Alli Manda. Give "us only a proper ashoor (duty,) and we consent to con-

* This word is very frequently introduced in all their speeches; a mode of exciting attention, common also among the North American Indians.

† Kurrea is a tribe. Kabela is a people.

"vey you, your people, and all your goods in safety to "the Ras."

I replied, that with respect to presents from one sovereign to another, duties were out of the question. I could not permit any of my boxes to be opened, though I was willing to make them adequate presents. They asked, how many camels I should want, and, how soon I should require them? I replied, that I could not fix the precise number, but supposed I might want about thirty to be ready in sixteen days, for which I would engage to give them one hundred dollars. Forty to Alli Govéta, and sixty to be distributed among the tribes. And should this be agreed upon, I would either go myself, or send a person from the ship with Alli Manda, to convey the intelligence to the Ras.

This proposal was debated for about three hours, with great violence, during the heat of which I went out, being insufferably incommoded by the closeness of the tent. At length, Alli Manda came to me, and told me they would agree to my proposition, if I would protract the period to twenty days, to which I consented. At the same time, he strongly recommended me not to think of going myself on this occasion, but to send some other person; as he assured me, nothing would be done, if both he (Alli Manda) and I should be absent together. On more mature consideration, I gave up the idea of going myself, though with some reluctance, as the journey might have enabled me to improve very materially the geography of this unexplored part of the country. In earnest of our agreement, I gave Alli Govéta a turban of muslin, and after feasting the whole party, returned with Alli Manda on board, for the purpose of carrying into effect the proposed plan.

I had now secured one important point, the means of again communicating with the Ras, and of giving him early information of my plans, though I own it was with great hesitation that I finally resolved upon the route it might be advisable to pursue. During my stay I had acquired sufficient insight into the character of these tribes to feel assured that I might have been enabled by great management, though with considerable risk, to accomplish my journey through their country; yet, could

I even have effected it, such strong objections remained against the plan, that it appeared to me, notwithstanding any additional expense, delay, or hazard which might be incurred, that the road by Massowa ought decidedly to be preferred. Mr. Pearce's letters and my own experience had taught me, that during the unsettled state of the tribes then existing, no trade or regular intercourse could be carried on through Madir. Whereas an established intercourse was carried on with Massowa, which, though attended with occasional difficulties, and obstructed by many shameful exactions, had not for many years been actually interrupted. My passing from Madir would probably have shut up this channel for ever. The enmity of the Sirdar and Nayib would have been implacable, and it appeared not unlikely that the tribes on the coast might, on our account, have been precipitated into a war, which would have been equally destructive to themselves and to our interests; and all these consequences must have taken place without my being able to ascertain the real situation of affairs at Massowa. On the contrary by going to that place, I should be enabled at once to face all difficulties, and I saw no reason to despair, notwithstanding the hostile letter from its chiefs, of bringing them to a satisfactory termination.

On the 10th, while I was still hesitating, a gelve fortunately arrived express from Massowa, confirming the intelligence of the removal of Omar Aga from the command at that place, and of the arrival of Mustapha Aga, who had succeeded to his authority. Immediately on the arrival of the latter, he disclaimed the acts of his predecessor, and dispatched the gelve for the purpose of assuring me of his friendship for the English, and his wish to promote their views; and at the same time he forwarded a packet of letters from Captain Rudland, that had reached Massowa by a circuitous conveyance, and sent a present of goats and fowls, which he had entrusted to the care of the Dola of Dahalac, a respectable old man, with whom I had been acquainted on my former voyage, and who was evidently selected on account of his known attachment to the English.

The letters from Captain Rudland contained expressions of great alarm at the accounts which he had re-

ceived respecting the hostile proceedings of the Nayib and Omar Aga. Of his assurance that Yunus had been poisoned, and of his fears for our safety; with the intelligence of a Wahabee fleet having been dispatched from Jidda, the destination of which was not satisfactorily ascertained. A dispatch was also inclosed, addressed to me from the Bombay Government, requesting my co-operation with its agent, Captain Rudland, in his commercial plans with respect to Abyssinia, and the copy of a letter, ordering him to act in concert with me.

The receipt of this packet determined my proceedings, and I finally resolved to go to Massowa as soon as I could dispatch the super-cargo of the ship to the Ras, and ascertain his having passed the borders. In pursuance of this plan I wrote a letter to Mr. Pearce, desiring him to set out with the Ras's people for Massowa immediately on the receipt of my letter, and I engaged to meet him there in fourteen days. This letter I gave to Mr. Coffin, and went with him on shore, where, after a long conference, it was agreed, that he should set out with Alli Manda at midnight. I provided him a horse which I had brought over from Mocha, and sent with him an Arab "sais," or "horse-keeper," and Wursum's brother, a young Somauli well versed in the Dankali language, as an interpreter, and ten young men belonging to Alli Govéta were selected in my presence to guard them through the country. Before I left them Alli Govéta begged that I would request the Ras to send him a mule. Alli Manda solicited another turban for his brother, and so many various demands came upon me from all quarters, that had I not retreated to the boat, I believe I might have stripped myself entirely to satisfy their insatiable demands.

To prevent any obstacles arising to Mr. Coffin's journey, I was under the unpleasant necessity of dissembling, and of leaving the Dumhoeta chiefs to suppose that I still designed to pass through their territory.

On my return from the shore I went on board the Massowa gelve, and took the Dola of Dahalac with me to the ship. The delight of the old man at seeing me was very feelingly expressed, and it was much increased on being told of the health of the "Lord Sahib" (Lord Valentia,)

and Captain Court; concerning whom he made particular inquiries. While we were taking coffee together, I asked him several questions respecting my former acquaintances at Massowa and Dahalac, and found from his replies that they remained much in the same situation as when I left them, excepting the Nayib, who had been greatly mortified by the late diminution of his authority. He spoke very highly of the Kaimakan Mustapha Aga, and assured me that every thing had gone on well since the dismissal of the Jidda soldiers, a measure which had been adopted, in consequence of some serious dissensions which had arisen between them and the inhabitants. I found also that intelligence had been received respecting the English expedition against the Johassim Arabs, and the destruction of Ras el Kire, which, as the Dola informed me, had given rise to considerable alarm, lest we might intend a similar expedition against Massowa. I quieted his fears on this head, but avoided giving him any insight into my future intentions, through fear that they might transpire among the natives of the coast; but I afterwards found that this precaution was needless, as the people on board the gelve did not dare to hazard the slightest communication with the shore, owing to the unsettled state of affairs among the tribes.

As the Dola was anxious to return to Massowa, on account of a Mahomedan festival which was at this time celebrating, I immediately prepared an answer in Arabic to Mustapha Aga, thanking him for his attentions, and stating that it was my intention to be at Massowa in fourteen days; at which time I expected the Ras's people down to meet me. The Dola departed with this letter on the eleventh.

While the gelve was getting under sail, we witnessed an extraordinary instance of skill in diving. In the attempt to weigh the anchor the cable parted, when one of the natives instantly flung himself into the water, dived, and with the utmost resolution dexterously fastened the two broken ends of the cable, a task which he completed in about two minutes, in so effectual a manner, that the anchor was immediately drawn by it out of the ground. The man after this daring exploit rose perfectly unconcerned, and without any apparent fatigue. Some

of the boat's crew, before they went away, offered me a quantity of mis-shapen pearls for sale, but the sum demanded for them was very exorbitant, a circumstance arising from the price which the Muscat dealers can afford to give, owing to pearls of all shapes and descriptions bearing a high value in the Indian market.

On the 13th, I had a meeting with Alli Govéta and the Dola, who made an urgent demand for the hundred dollars agreed upon for my passage. As I wished to keep them in good humour I advanced forty, but refused to come to a final settlement until I should hear from the supercargo. Many arguments were adduced by the Dola to make me alter this determination, but I remained inflexible, and, finding that they persisted in the demand, left them, on pretence of shooting an antelope which I had lost some time before on the island, and this necessarily ended the debate. At the same meeting Wursum asked permission to leave us a few days, for the purpose "of reading the Koran, and giving a feast in memory of his deceased father." These feasts always end in a general drinking bout, and the relations are honoured in proportion to the number of days during which they can provide liquor to keep up the debauch.

On the 17th, I sent a messenger to the village of Duroro to gain intelligence respecting the supercargo, and learned in the evening that he had passed the salt-plain. I was also informed that Wursum, in consequence of having been guilty of great excess, was seriously ill. That Alli Govéta was dissatisfied, and wanted a fresh supply of provisions, and that many of the other chiefs had gone away, in consequence of the arrival of information that the Nayib had come down to the neighbourhood of Aréna with his troops. I attributed the desponding tone of this intelligence in a great degree to the effects produced on the minds of the natives by the heavy rains which had fallen in the three preceding days, as it is a circumstance that always occasions serious inconvenience in a place where the huts are so slightly constructed as to be unable to resist the torrents which usually pour down at this season; and on going on shore the following day, I discovered that my conjectures were well-founded; the whole village being in a deplorable

state. The mats which had covered the huts were partly blown away, the rest were soaked completely through with the wet, and the inhabitants had got huddled together in the inner apartments, like cattle in a shed during a storm. Their wretched appearance strongly excited compassion, though it was not unmixed with contempt, at witnessing their extreme folly and want of precaution in not making the slightest preparation against such occasions.

On the 19th, Alli Govéta and some of his friends came off to the ship by appointment, when I communicated to them, in as conciliating a manner as I could, my intention of proceeding to Massowa, and the circumstance of my having directed Mr. Pearce to meet me at that place. I pointed out to them the necessity for my adopting this plan, in order to prove to the Nayib and Aga of Massowa the contempt in which I held their threats, and my determination to communicate with Abyssinia by whatever route I might think proper. I proceeded to declare my perfect satisfaction at the treatment I had received from the Dumhoeta during my stay at Amphila, and I promised, notwithstanding the change in my plans, to give them the whole sum which I had agreed to pay for a passage through their country, in the hope that it might render them grateful, and induce them hereafter to abide strictly by those principles of friendship for the English which they had sworn so solemnly to maintain.

Alli Govéta at first seemed sadly disappointed at my resolution, but after a time acknowledged, that my reasons for going to Massowa had great weight; though he still expressed a hope, if I could not satisfactorily arrange my journey with the chiefs of that place, that I would return to Amphila; and then he assured me, that, whatever my wishes might be, he was my brother, and would be answerable with his life for their accomplishment. On my pressing him to keep on good terms with the Nayib, he energetically replied, "I wish to have no-"thing to do with him: he commands in his country, "and I in mine; but I have sworn friendship to you, "and will be either at peace or war with him, as you "may desire."

There is a native eloquence about these people which gives their speeches on such occasions a peculiar interest. I was a good deal struck with the warmth and apparent sincerity of his manner and parted from him with considerable regret, as he had risen greatly in my estimation upon a more intimate acquaintance with his character. With regard to my opinion of the Dola, it remained unaltered.

On the 20th January, Wursum's boat fortunately returned from Mocha with an ample supply of cloth, rice, and other articles, which enabled me to reward all the natives who had in any degree been of service to us; and, on the 22d, preparations were made for our departure from Amphila. Before I quit it, it may not be amiss to introduce a few general remarks, made during my stay on the spot, respecting the islands, the coast and its inhabitants.

The Bay of Amphila comprises an extent of sixteen miles along the coast, and from its outer island measures nearly twelve miles in depth, containing altogether thirteen islands, the native names of which, as far as they could be ascertained, are given in the chart.

All these islands, excepting a small one in the middle of the Bay, are composed entirely of marine alluvies strongly cemented together and forming vast and solid masses, which may not improperly be termed rock. The surface being covered in parts only, with a thin layer of soil. The larger portion of these remains consists of corallines, madrepores, echini and a great variety of sea-shells of those species which appear to be still common in this sea. The heighth of the islands often exceeds thirty feet above the level of high-water mark, a circumstance which renders it difficult to account for the process by which they have been formed.

Mr. Dalrymple's hypothesis respecting the formation of coral islands has been very generally admitted to be correct, and indeed seems to account very satisfactorily for those not elevated more than one or two feet above the level of the ocean; since the moment one point of coral rises to its surface, birds will of course resort to it, and there leave shells, bones, and other remains of their

food, which in time producing vegetation, may continually accumulate until the whole mass become a solid stratum of earth. But this does not solve the present difficulty, for, on the islands I am describing, large pieces of madrepore are found, disposed in regular layers, full twenty feet above the level of high water mark, and for this circumstance no satisfactory reason, in my opinion, can be assigned, but the supposition of the sea having retired since they have been so deposited.

The small island, which I have mentioned as different from the rest, consists of a solid rock of calcareous stone, through which run veins of calcedony. On the east side of it is a large cave, used by the masters of dows, frequenting this bay, as a store-house, for laying up their goods; and from this circumstance, as we could not ascertain its native appellation, we named it Safety Island.

The shores to windward of these islands are, in general, steep; and, when the weather is foul, difficult of approach, owing to the encroachments of the sea, which have undermined the rocks, leaving in many places singular-shaped pillars and hollow caves, bearing a strong resemblance to works of art. On the leeward side, a grove of rack trees is commonly found, particularly convenient for supplying fire-wood to vessels, and the natives will permit any quantity to be cut down for a few dollars.

One of the islands named Kutto, appears at some distant time to have been inhabited, as the ruins of stone houses and a fort plainly shew; the latter was evidently intended to command the passage leading into an inner harbour, adjacent to the village of Duroro. There also exists in the centre of the same island, a connected set of four large cisterns, excavated in the shape of a cross, each of which is thirty feet long, nine broad, and seven high, all of which are lined with chunam; these, when filled, would hold, at a moderate computation, one hundred and twenty thousand gallons of water. These cisterns seem to have been constructed by the same people who formed those which I have formerly described on the Island of Dahalac. A tradition current among the natives ascribes this undertaking to the Pharsees, or Per-

sians, who conquered Yemen from the Abyssinians early in the seventh century, and for some time held unrivalled possession of the commerce of the Red Sea. The same tradition leads to the belief, that they were at last compelled to desert the coast by a famine; but at what time this occurred is uncertain; though it probably did not take place till a considerable time after the birth of Mahomed. I should feel myself inclined to conjecture, that the works in question must have been constructed by the Turks at a much later period.

The other islands do not seem to have been at any time inhabited; but those which are accessible from the continent at low water, are sometimes visited by the natives, and the vegetation found upon them affords sustenance to a great number of camels, goats and kids, the flesh of which latter, in a wild state, is almost equal to venison.

The fishermen also, at particular seasons of the year, frequent these islands, as the numerous remains of sharks, saw-fish, and turtle, on which they had been regaling, sufficiently testified; and occasionally, as appears from a scene witnessed by Captain Weatherhead and myself, the natives come over to indulge in feasts of a still more extraordinary description. The instance to which I allude occurred on the 25th of December, during one of our excursions on the Island of Anto Sukkeer, when we met with a party, composed of three men and two women, assembled round a fire, enjoying a feast, consisting of about a dozen young eagles, of an half grown size, recently taken from their nests, and about two bushels of shell-fish, all of which, after being broiled, were ate without either bread or salt; and the natives seemed to consider it as a most delicious repast; while the screams of the parent birds hovering over their heads, furnished very appropriate music to this savage entertainment.

At the bottom of the bay, on the main land, lie the two villages of Madir and Duroro, the latter of which is considerably the larger, and more conveniently situated for traffic, as it lies scarcely half a mile removed from the port in which the dows usually anchor. From this point we made several excursions mounted upon mules, which

we hired from the Dola of the place. The country over which we travelled on these occasions, consisted of an extensive plain, covered with brushwood, and bounded by a range of mountains, forming a kind of natural amphitheatre, at about fifteen miles distant in the interior, lying in a north-west and south-east direction, fronting the coast. To the northward of this range passes the road to Abyssinia, and beyond, in the same line, on a clear day, part of the still loftier chain of mountains extending from Senafé to Taranta, may be plainly distinguished.

As the rains had only just commenced, the vegetation appeared to be very scanty, and we consequently met with but little game, though, during the fertile season, large herds of deer are said to come down from the upper country, a circumstance not unlikely, from the number of horns which we found lying scattered among the hills. A small species of hare, greatly resembling a rabbit, which delights in frequenting dry and desert situations, seemed to be common on the coast. Among the birds worthy of observation, a large and fine species of bustard, and several species of lapwing were most conspicuous, all of which, upon an examination of the contents of their stomachs, appeared to feed chiefly on locusts, with which the neighbourhood was at this time much infested.

During our stay in this quarter, a large flight of these insects came over to one of the islands, and in a few days destroyed nearly half the vegetation upon it, not sparing even the bitter leaves of the rack-tree. These locusts are called Jerād in Yemen, and Anne in Dankali, and are commonly used as food by the wandering tribes of both these nations, who, after broiling them, separate the heads from the bodies, and devour the latter in the same manner as Europeans eat shrimps and prawns.

The main land, towards the sea, is every where skirted with a thick jungle, (if I may so express it) of the rack-tree, much frequented by a species of fox, called by the natives 'wobit,' which comes down regularly to the sea-side, on the fall of the tide, to seek for shell-fish and other marine substances, on which it principally feeds. This circumstance was early noticed by Pliny, who calls

the fox, a small dog, and the rack, "an olive-tree."* "In mari vero rubro sylvas vivere, laurum maxime et olivam ferentem baccas:"—"caniculis refertas vix ut prospicere è navi tutum sit, remos plerunque ipsos invadentibus." It is worthy of observation, that the leaves of the rack, though exceedingly bitter and acrid to the taste, form the chief support of the numerous droves of camels kept on the coast, which, from this circumstance, are esteemed more stout and capable of bearing fatigue, than any others fed in a different manner.†

The supply of water on this coast depends upon a number of wells, rudely hollowed out by the natives. Those immediately in the neighbourhood of the villages are fit for use only during a short time after the rains have fallen, being at other periods dry or impregnated with salt water. The best wells are found on Amphila Point, about six miles east by south from the harbour, which afford a sufficient quantity of water for the supply of a fleet; but they are not very convenient, on account of their lying at the distance of nearly three-quarters of a mile from the beach. These reservoirs are excavated to the depth of twelve and fourteen feet from the surface, but we never observed the water in them to rise more than one foot from the bottom; so that in filling a large cask it often became exhausted, and occasioned a delay until a fresh supply had trickled in again from the sides.

It frequently happened that the water was salt in one well, and fresh in another, though not lying more than ten or twelve yards asunder. This variation in the quality of the water seemed to depend in a great measure upon the height of the tide, as it was found that the salt water predominated at the flowing of the spring, and the fresh water during the prevalence of the neap tides. This circumstance favours the supposition, that the sea, when at its highest elevation, rises above the level of some of

* This is probably the "benat el wau," respecting which the 38th question is proposed by Michælis. Vide Recueil de Questions, &c. p. 81. I have seen the footsteps also of the hyæna close to the sea-side.

† This appears to me a complete answer to the 74th question proposed by Michælis.

the springs by which the wells are supplied; and, hence, finding its way through the sands, renders the water at such times brackish. The natives on the coast, as well as the Arabs, do not term the water, when so impregnated, salt water, but call it by a name implying "bitter water," and it may have proceeded from this cause that the term, which is used in the Scriptures, derived its origin.

Near the wells a number of troughs made of clay are placed for watering the camels that are brought down every morning by the natives, who generally occupy the place from eight to ten o'clock. Our watering parties found these people uniformly civil, though, on the following occasion, a circumstance ridiculous in itself had nearly produced very unpleasant and serious consequences. One of our sailors, named Robinson, during the absence of the mate, wantonly took a piece of fat pork, and rubbed it over the head and neck of a native who had been sent to attend the party. This incensed the man so highly, that, though old and feeble, he caught up his shield and spear, and swore by the Prophet that he would have revenge. At this threat the sailor with some reason became alarmed, when the rest of the party were obliged to interfere and get him off as speedily as possible to the boat. By this time the mate, who had been wandering a short distance only with his gun, fortunately returned, and by kind words and a present of tobacco succeeded in appeasing the old man's anger; but the affair was not finally arranged till a regular complaint had been laid before me by the chief of the tribe, when it was settled with some difficulty, by the payment of twenty dollars.

I have been induced to dwell more particularly on this occurrence on account of the many fatal accidents which have ensued from the misconduct of individuals on similar occasions, in palliation of which it has been too much the practice to cast hasty imputations of barbarity upon the natives of different countries, whose conduct, were the facts impartially examined, might not only prove justifiable, but possibly meritorious, from the due chastisement they had inflicted on the rude invaders of their rights. A captain of a ship ought never to permit a boat

to go ashore on a strange coast, without sending, if possible, an interpreter with the party, and even then he should be particularly cautious in selecting for the service a steady officer, of mild conduct and conciliating manners, who would consider that, in seeking water merely, he was asking for an indulgence which, though apparently trifling in his estimation, might be of infinite importance to those with whom he had to communicate, while the men should at the same time be strictly enjoined not to stir from the side of their officer, nor to attempt laying their hands on the slightest article until some agreement should have been entered into with the natives, or some interchange of presents should have taken place. Were these circumstances more minutely attended to, and the peculiar prejudices and customs of the people more generally respected, I feel convinced, that the inhabitants of most countries would, in the first instance, be naturally inclined to treat strangers with hospitality; and accidents like those alluded to would prove of much rarer occurrence. These sentiments I have imbibed from frequent observation on the thoughtless and unguarded conduct of our seamen, and from remarking the extreme care and caution used by the natives of Africa themselves in opening a communication with tribes to which they had before been strangers; a particular instance of which I shall have occasion to describe in a subsequent visit to the Island of Howakil.

The country round Amphila forms part of an extensive tract formerly termed the kingdom of Dankali, the sovereign of which was engaged at an early period in the wars carried on by the Kings of Hurrur and Adaiel against Abyssinia. The inhabitants are nearly allied by their habits and language to the Adaiel, and their respective territories lay contiguous, till the great inroad of the Galla, who, by advancing to the coast in the neighbourhood of Asab, completely separated them. Both the district and the people inhabiting it still retain the name of Dankali, but the latter is now subdivided into a great number of petty tribes, each ruled by its own peculiar chief. The tribe of greatest consequence is that of the Dumhoeta, who hold possession of the coast from Béloul to Aréna, besides considerable districts in the interior:

the number of their fighting men may be computed at one thousand. Next to these may be reckoned the two tribes of the Taieméla and the Hadarem, each of which can bring two hundred men into the field; both having their residence among the mountains in the neighbourhood of the salt plain. Adjoining them to the northward dwell the Belessua, partly dependent on the Taieméla, while to the southward at Ayth, and in its immediate neighbourhood, reside the small tribes of Adoole and Modeto, who are chiefly employed in a sea-faring life, and are connected, as I have before remarked, with the old settlers on the islands lying off the coast. The remaining tribes are termed Adalhu, Aisamalhu, Kedimto, Weéma, Mushiek, and the Assamominto; the last of which is ruled by a brother of Alli Govéta, dwelling in the neighbourhood of Aréna. To the north-west of these, lies another tribe, completely independent, called Russamo, which is generally at variance with all its neighbours.

All the tribes above-mentioned speak the same language, and may be considered as Danákil:* their united forces are said to amount to full six thousand men.

These tribes profess the religion of Mahomed, of which, however, they know little more than the name; they have neither priests nor mosques in their country. In their manners they are rude and uncultivated, leading a wandering life among the hills, and shifting about as occasion requires, from station to station, in search of pasture for their cattle. Each tribe is perfectly independent; though all are ready at a short warning to unite for a common cause; and being daring, resolute, and active, their numbers would render them a formidable enemy were it not for their want of arms, their poverty not allowing more than one in ten to possess a spear, a knife, or any other weapon of offence.

The women on the coast possess very pleasing and agreeable features, and whenever we entered their huts were very civil in offering us a seat, and in affording us a draught of water, which was the only refreshment their poverty could supply. Of every other article of suste-

* Dankali is singular, Danákil plural.

nance an extreme scarcity prevails throughout the country. Indeed, no people in the world is more straitened with respect to the necessaries of life. A little juwarry bread, a small quantity of fish, an inadequate supply of goats and camels milk, and a kid on very particular occasions constitutes the whole of their subsistence. In the interior they live a little better, and possess large droves of cattle, which, during the rainy season yield abundance of milk. As there did not appear to be any cultivation of the ground in practice among this people, it may be strictly termed a pastoral nation. All the natives, both men and women, have an extraordinary craving after tobacco: they smoke it, take it in the form of snuff, and are in the habitual practice of chewing it, which, in a certain degree, I imagine, satisfies the calls of hunger. The dress of the men consists of a single piece of Arabian or Abyssinian cloth loosely wrapped round the body, and their hair, which is crisped, is curiously dressed out, frizzed, powdered with brown dust, and covered with grease in a similar way to that practised by the Hazorta and other tribes on the coast. The dress of the women is somewhat more modest than that of the men, though not very appropriate to their sex, part of it being formed of a close covering resembling a species of drawers, the edges of which are variously ornamented with kowries and other shells. Their hair is plaited in small ringlets, and their arms and legs are adorned with bracelets of ivory and silver. The drudgery of the house, such as grinding corn, baking the bread, and fetching the water, is as usual allotted to the females; while the males pass their time in tending their cattle, or more frequently in smoking and idleness.

Their huts are constructed in the shape of the wigwams of the American Indians, and are covered with mats formed out of the leaves of the doom-tree. Each hut is generally divided into two or three compartments, and their only furniture consists of a few rude couches, some cooking utensils, and a large jar for holding water. When a marriage takes place, at which time great rejoicings are made, an intoxicating kind of liquor called booza is supplied by the friends, and the foot of a kid is

cut off, and hung up in the house of the chief, to serve as a rude kind of calendar to mark the event.

It is a singular fact, worthy of particular notice, that the Danákil, as well as the Adaiel and Somauli, entertain a peculiar prejudice against common fowls, the flesh of which is held among them in a kind of abhorrence: this may perhaps lead to the idea of these tribes being sprung from an Egyptian origin. I remarked also another circumstance, strongly in favour of this conjecture, which is that of their tombs being covered with monuments of a pyramidal structure. We had remained a considerable time on the coast before I could get a sight of their burying grounds; but at length I accidentally discovered one in a secluded spot, between the two hills, termed in our chart the Sister Hills. The tombs were rudely constructed, in the exact shape of pyramids, with stones cemented together with chunam, and some of these piles were entirely covered with the latter material: the base of one of them occupying a space of full ten feet square. A vocabulary of the Dankali language will be found in the Appendix. (Vide No. I.)

The thermometer during our stay at Amphila generally stood at noon as high as at 77-8 and 9° in the shade, with the wind from about E. to E. S. E.; but in the latter part of December, with a "shummall," or "northwest wind," the thermometer fell as low as 72°, at which time we had cloudy weather, and occasional showers, while on shore the rain appeared to be almost incessant. Previously to the approach of a shummall, the air became always extremely heavy, and the atmosphere hazy, from being apparently loaded with sand, which the force of partial gusts of wind had carried up in the shape of pillars, and these were constantly observed sweeping in different directions across the plain. I never heard of any accident occurring from these "moving pillars of sand," nor did the natives appear to entertain any particular dread of them. I have myself been enveloped in a portion of one of them, the effects of which were exceedingly unpleasant, making the whole of my skin feel parched and dry; but I experienced no actual suffering from it, either at the time or afterwards.

Besides the birds before noticed, I may here take occasion to mention, that the shoals and islands were frequented by large flights of sea-fowl, such as pelicans, herns of a large size and of many different species, flamingos, spoon-bills, gulls, curlews, snipes, and sand-larks. I also shot upon the coast a very beautiful species of bird, which was supposed by Dr. Latham at first sight to be nearly allied to the Ardea pondiceriana; but it has since been thought to form a new and distinct genus, from its having the bill of an ardea, while the feet are deeply webbed, and more nearly allied to those of the avoset. Specimens of both male and female are now in the possession of Lord Stanley, to whom I presented them on my return to England. I discovered likewise a new species of lark, which is very common on all the islands, and which, from its colour and habits, may be aptly termed the desert lark. A list of these birds, arranged according to their proper genera and species, will be given, along with others found in Abyssinia, in the Appendix.

On the 23d we took leave of Alli Govéta and his friends at Amphila,* and set sail for Massowa. In attempting to get out of the harbour, the wind veered suddenly round to the eastward, which compelled us to come to an anchor in five fathoms, in the mid-channel. In consequence of this delay, the captain, the surgeon and myself, went on shore to Harbour Island, and spent the day under the shade of a grove of mimosa-trees, which were thickly interspersed with climbing shrubs. Nothing can be imagined more agreeable than these partial spots of scenery on the islands, at this particular season of the year. In the evening we made a large fire. It was a beautiful moonlight night; and as our tent was distant only about an hundred yards from the sea, it altogether produced a most delightful effect. On the following morning at day-break we went on board, and finally set sail.

* As this word appears to be different in its character from any other on the coast, I cannot help suspecting, that it may prove a corruption from the "Ἀμφίλα λιμήν," mentioned by Strabo. Vide Strabonis Geograph. Vol. II. p. 771.

CHAPTER V.

Observations respecting the Coast northward of Amphila—Sarbo—Bay of Howakil—Island of the same name—Communication with its inhabitants, &c.—Excursion to Aréna—Discovery of the Opsian Stone—Visit to the Island of Buckah—Anchorage at Adjuice—Voyage to Massowa—Remarkable appearance in the Sea—Its cause—Dangerous Shoal near Valentia Island—Arrival at Massowa—Abyssinian party sent down by the Ras—Account of Mr. Coffin's journey from Amphila to Chelicut—General remarks respecting it—Interview with the Kaimakan—Alarming appearance of a fleet of dows from Jidda—Visit from Mahomed Jelani—Preparations for our journey into the Interior—Departure from Massowa—Stay at Arkeeko—Character of its Inhabitants—Departure from it.

AFTER clearing the islands of Amphila, we kept close in with the shore, which enabled me to make some useful observations respecting its shape and direction, and in a few hours we reached Sarbo, where we came to an anchor immediately under the point. In this situation we found the shelter from the southward tolerably good, though subject to a heavy swell, but, as the islands do not afford any protection in the north-west quarter, it is a place by no means to be resorted to, except as an occasional anchorage.

We dedicated the 25th to a survey of the eastern end of the Bay of Howakil. On going up Sarbo Hill for this purpose, we found some very fine plants of the balsam, and of another shrub producing a gum much resembling bdellium, of which I preserved several specimens; and from these it was ascertained on my return, that both plants belong to the genus amyris. From the top of the hill we had a fine view of the coast, with its numerous curving inlets, bays, and islands, of which I took a double set of bearings; and as the hills which we had seen at Amphila continued in sight, it connected our survey with that bay. Here I also observed the meridian altitude of the sun with an artificial horizon, which proved the latitude of the place to be in 15° 0′ 48″ N. Captain Weatherhead made an observation at the same time upon the extremity of the point, the result of which gave

15° 1′ 10″; the difference between these two observations very satisfactorily answered to our actual distance.

On Friday the 26th, I set out in the morning in Wursum's dow, on an expedition across the Bay of Howakil, leaving Captain Weatherhead to pass outside with the Marian, to the Island of Adjuice. We proceeded in the first instance to the long flat Island of Del'gammon, and visited a small village called by the same name, in search of a stone bearing an inscription, which is said to remain somewhere in the neighbourhood. I could not prevail upon the natives to shew it me; but, from several subsequent accounts, I am still led to believe, that such a stone does exist, with Cufic characters upon it, referring to a tradition before mentioned respecting the Persians, and I have here noticed it for the benefit of some future traveller.

From Del'gammon we took, at Wursum's desire, one of the natives on board, and proceeded to Howakil, near which we anchored, and soon afterwards landed and walked about two miles, over a flat plain, towards the village. As we approached it we perceived symptoms of alarm among the natives, several of whom were seen running away, and others with spears in their hands assembling in a body, and receding as we advanced. I sent the native of Del'gammon forward to tell them we were friends. On hearing this they stopped, drew up in a line, with an old man in the centre, and greeted us with the usual salutation "Salam Alicum," to which we answered, according to custom, "Alicum Salam." After this we touched the hand of every one of the company, each man kissing his own hand on withdrawing it, as is the common practice on the coast. After this introduction, the chief, who was distinguished only by the superior quality of his garment, commenced a regular set of enquiries, addressing himself to Wursum as our spokesman; while our respective parties continued very ceremoniously drawn up opposite to each other in perfect silence: "Kaif untah?" "how do you do?" the answer was "Tiben," "well." They then went on, "El amd u'l illah," "thanks be to God:" "Kulo tiben?" "is all well?" "Ewau tiben," "yes, well;" "Muntiyu?" "where are you from?" "Min Mocha,

baden, min Amphila," "from Mocha; last from Amphila." "Aish kubber?" "What news?" "Taiib kubber," "Good news." "El amd 'l illah;" "God be praised." After which followed a series of questions respecting the "news from Mocha, from Hodeida? from Amphila? and from Habesh?" to each of which Wursum replied by a detailed account of all he knew from these respective places, not forgetting in his narrative to mention the price of ghee, juwarry, cloth, &c. He also informed them of our friendship with Alli Govéta and the Danákil, on hearing which they repeatedly exclaimed, "God be praised, that's well."

Silence at length ensuing, Wursum asked if they had done; and on being answered in the affirmative, I was greatly amused to hear him formally go over in return a string of questions very similar to the preceding, only varying the places of enquiry, commencing with "Kaif untah?" "How do you do?" and ending with "what news from Jidda? Suakin? Massowa? Dahalac? and Aréna?" After they had satisfactorily answered all these interesting enquiries, and told us to a fraction of a commassi the current price of every petty article of trade, they once more offered us their hands, declared that they were highly gratified at our arrival, and then, turning about, led us forward to the village.

Trifling as the above transaction may appear, I have thought it worthy of being particularized, from its relation to a question before alluded to, of attempting a first intercourse with savages. If Wursum, a Somauli, so nearly allied in habits and manners to the Danákil, thought so much precaution necessary in a kindred place because he had not before visited it, how imperious must be the necessity where Europeans attempt to communicate with people whose colour, habits, and manners, are so perfectly dissimilar to their own? I have been led to give the original phrases as a specimen of the vulgar Arabic, from its being commonly used on the coasts of the Red Sea.

As soon as we arrived at the village of Howakil, a very neat hut was prepared for me, and as the evening was far advanced I consented to stay for the night. Nothing could exceed the kindness of these good people;

a kid was killed, and a large quantity of fresh milk was brought and presented in straw baskets made of the leaves of the doom-tree, seared over with wax, a manufacture in which the natives on these islands particularly excel. On expressing a desire to retire to rest, a new mat was brought to lay upon my couch, and a quantity of Arabian silk was placed by the Sheik with his own hands, to form my pillow.

On the 27th, at day-break, I went on an excursion up the mountains for the purpose of taking a general view and bearings of the islands in the bay. These mountains are picturesque in their aspect, are covered with brush-wood, and constitute a perfect amphitheatre, bounding a plain gradually sloping to the sea. The view over this plain from the first ridge of hills was extremely beautiful. The whole appeared like a verdant lawn, spotted, (if I may so term it) with mimosas, the depth of which gave a brighter lustre to the grass that luxuriantly sprung up underneath, where hundreds of the finest milch goats, with their udders distended, wandered at large with their kids. In the centre of the plain stood the village, consisting of about forty circular huts, constructed with branches of the rack-tree and the long-spreading roots of the acacia, neatly covered over with mats. Near the beach, to the northward, grew a thick grove of trees, beyond which lay the bay, with its numerous islands stretching out into the distant horizon. Happy might the natives be thought, were these islands always in so flourishing a condition; but unfortunately, the appearance of plenty is but of short duration. Soon after the rain has ceased the ground becomes parched, the supplies of water exhausted, the vegetation burnt up, and the goats, for want of food, lean and barren. This state of things continues during eight long months; at the latter period of which, if the rains do not set in, which occasionally takes place, mortality commences among the cattle, which soon extending to the children and women, makes the whole island exhibit the aspect of one scene of desolation; the men on these occasions going on excursions to Mocha, Hodeida, and northward as far as Suakin, to escape as much as possible from the misery and wretchedness prevailing at home.

The ascent of the mountain, which is very steep, proved extremely advantageous to my views, as it gave me a correct notion of the bay and of the inland country, where, at a distance, I could distinguish the hills inhabited by the Russamo and Belessua, and still further off, the high mountains of Senafé. On returning at noon to Wursum's dow, a party of the inhabitants attended us for the purpose of taking down seven goats, that I had bought for six dollars, and several young girls, dressed like those at Madir, carried down for us some skins of water. Among the latter, I observed one extremely pretty and elegantly formed; whom, on enquiry, I found to be the daughter of the Sheik, who, to my great surprise, began to jest concerning her; and, on our arriving at the dow, he frightened the girl not a little by pretending that he would sell her to me for a hundred dollars. At noon I joined the ship, which I found at anchor to the south-west of "Gezirat l' Adjuice," an Arabic appellation, which, literally translated, signifies "Old Woman's Island."

As our former researches on the coast had given reason to conjecture, that the Bay of Howakil was the one mentioned in the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, celebrated for producing the Opsian stone, I determined to examine it as accurately as possible, for the purpose of ascertaining the fact; and with this view the surgeon and myself set out early in the morning of the 28th in the dow, to visit Aréna, which I understood to lie in an inner recess at the very bottom of the bay. We sailed down the track marked in the chart, and after surveying all the islands and shoals on our way, reached in about four hours the anchorage opposite the village. Wursum immediately swam on shore to prepare the way, and in a short time he returned in a small boat, bringing off a tall, fair man, who proved to be his uncle, a Somauli trader, who had only the day before arrived from a trading excursion to Massowa, from which place he brought intelligence, that accounted for the dismissal of the Jidda troops. He informed us, that there had been a violent quarrel between them and the Arkeeko Ascari; that the former had conducted themselves in an overbearing manner, and that one of them had actually killed a woman,

for which, in retaliation, he had himself been slain. This event produced an open rupture; and, as the Nayib at Arkeeko had it in his power to starve Massowa, the Jidda soldiers had given up the contest, and returned home, leaving a few slaves only in attendance upon the Aga.

I soon afterwards went on shore, where I found two of the Dumhoeta Chiefs, Hamooda and Undodo, younger brothers of Alli Govéta, with a number of their followers, waiting to receive me. I also found a party of Somauli traders, who, under the direction of Yunus's brother, had established a small factory at this place for the purpose of carrying on an intercourse with the natives; an instance of enterprise strongly marking the superiority of the Somauli over all other African tribes on the coast. The chief exports consist of slaves, horses, cattle, goats, and ghee, of which latter very considerable quantities are always to be procured in the neighbourhood. On mentioning to the chiefs, that my intention in visiting them was to confirm that friendship which I had entered into with Alli Govéta, they expressed themselves highly gratified, and declared, that what their brother had sworn to should be upheld by the whole of their tribes.

After the ceremony of introduction, we made a short excursion along the coast, in pursuance of our object, and in a little time came in sight of a hill, which might be distant about ten miles, close to which, the natives say, lies the town of Zulla, belonging to the Hazorta. Near this spot I was delighted with the sight of a great many pieces of a black substance, bearing a very high polish, much resembling glass, that lay scattered about on the ground at a short distance from the sea; and I collected nearly a hundred specimens of it, most of which were two, three or four inches in diameter. One of the natives told me, that a few miles further in the interior, pieces are found of much larger dimensions. This substance has been analyzed since my return to England, and proves to be the true opsian, or obsidian, stone, which answers most exactly to the following description given by Pliny: "Among the different sorts of glass may be enumerated the obsidian, made to resemble a stone found by Obsidius in Æthiopia, of a very deep

black colour, sometimes a little transparent, (on the edges) but opaque in its general appearance, (when in a mass) and reflecting images, like mirrors, placed against a wall. Many make gems of it, and we have seen solid images of the divine Augustus cut out of this substance; who ordered four obsidian elephants to be placed, as curiosities, in the Temple of Concord, &c."* It is evident from this description, that, though a fact now perfectly ascertained, it was not known to Pliny, that the obsidian stone itself is nothing more than glass thrown up by a volcano; notwithstanding that the exact resemblance between it and the manufactured glass had occasioned them, as he mentions, to be mistaken for each other; and hence it continued to retain the names of λίθος ὀψιανος in Greek, and *lapis* obsidianus in Latin.

The learned Salmasius has ridiculed Pliny for his description of the obsidian, and has attempted to prove that he was wrong in calling it "obsidianus," or saying it was discovered by Obsidius in Æthiopia; but, with deference to such high authority, I still must think, that without better arguments than those he has given, Pliny is much more likely to be correct in his statement, especially as his description is now found to agree very accurately with the specimens of that very kind which is termed ὀψιανος in the Periplus; whereas the description of the stone by Salmasius is extremely inaccurate. Dr. Vincent was the first person who suspected that the opsian stone might be found near this point, but, owing to the extreme incorrectness of the charts previously to Lord Valentia's survey of the coast, he was unable to find any bay from Massowa to Béloul, answering to the one described in the Periplus. As I have since had the

* In genere vitri et obsidiana numerantur, ad similitudinem lapidis quem in Æthiopia invenit Obsidius, nigerrimi coloris, aliquando et translucidi, crassiore visu, atque in speculis parietum pro imagine umbras reddente. Gemmas multi ex eo faciunt: vindimusque et solidas imagines divi Augusti, capti materia hujus crassitudinis: dicavitque ipse pro miraculo in Templo Concordiæ obsidianos quatuor elephantos. Remisit et Tiberius Cæsar Heliopolitarum ceremoniis repertam ibi in hæreditate ejus qui præfuerat Ægypto, obsidianam imaginem Menelai. Ex quo apparet antiquior materiæ origo, nunc vitri similitudine interpollata.

good fortune, to ascertain this point satisfactorily, I have done myself the pleasure of dedicating my chart of the Bay to Dr. Vincent, as a trifling testimony of friendship and of the obligation which I feel for the very candid manner in which he treated my former remarks respecting the Adulitic inscription.*

The mention of the opsian stone and bay in the Periplus is as follows: "About eight hundred stadia (from Adoole) is another very deep bay, where at the entrance on the right lies a great accumulation of sand, at the bottom of which is found the opsian stone, produced only in that single spot."† These eight hundred stadia, if Roman, would exceed the actual distance from Adoole; and this circumstance appears to confirm Lord Valentia's conjecture, that the Egyptian stadia were those employed by the author of this work, which was likely to have been the case, were it written, as is supposed, by an Alexandrian merchant. In the evening we returned on board the Marian.

On the 30th, the Captain and myself, for the purpose of completing our survey, went in a boat to the Island of Buckah, passing round the western side of Howakil, in the track marked in the chart. On our way we noticed a fine bason, with four and five fathoms water, but to which unfortunately we could not discover any entrance for a ship. Soon after we crossed a well-sheltered harbour, with four, five, and six fathoms, which bore the appearance, from the imperfect examination we were able to give it, of being the most secure place for anchorage in the whole Bay. The entrance, so far as we could examine it, seemed to be perfectly safe and easy of access, but it should not be attempted by a large vessel without a more accurate knowledge of the soundings than it was in our power, from the shortness of our stay, to obtain.

* Vide "The voyage of Nearchus, and the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, translated from the Greek, by Dr. Vincent, p. 118, 119, Oxf. 1809."

† Καὶ ἀπὸ σταδίων ὀκτὼ ἑκατοσίων κόλπος ἕτερος βαθύτατος, οὗ κατὰ τὴν εἴσοδον ἐν δεξιᾷ ἄμμος ἐστὶν πολλὴ κεχωμένη, καθ' ἣν ἐν βάθει κεχεσμένος εὑρίσκεται ὁ ὀψιανὸς λίθος, ἐν ἐκείνῃ μόνῃ γεγενημένος.

On the top of the high land of Buckah, which forms almost a perfect level, we measured a base of two thousand seven hundred feet, and took sets of bearings with a theodolite, from which, and others taken by similar means on the Island of Dalheit, all the main points in the chart are laid down. The high land of Buckah is composed of large masses of basaltes, of a dark, burnt, brown colour, about three feet thick, and seven or eight in diameter, piled in loose strata, occasionally presenting the appearance of ruined walls. The low grounds of all the islands in this bay are composed, like those of Amphila, of marine productions. From Buckah I computed the highest point of Howakil to rise about six hundred and fifty feet above the level of the sea. On our return we passed to the eastward of that island, and thus completed a circuit of about twenty-four miles, which prevented our reaching the ship until it was dark.

On the following morning we left our anchorage at Adjuice,* and attempted to beat out of the Bay, but the wind being contrary we were compelled to seek shelter under the Island of Dalheit, where we were detained by a continuance of the same cause until the 7th of February, during which time we experienced dark cloudy weather, and occasionally heavy rain, with the wind as usual from N.W. to N. N.W.; the thermometer from 75 to 78.

On the 7th of February we again set sail. At one o'clock the sea, for a considerable extent round the ship, became so extremely red, that it occasioned us, on its first being observed, considerable alarm; but, on sounding, our fears immediately subsided, as we found upwards of twenty fathoms. As we were anxious to ascertain the cause of this very singular appearance, a bucket was let down into the water, by which we obtained a considerable quantity of the substance floating on the surface. It proved to be of a jelly-like consistence, composed of a numberless multitude of very small mollusca, each of which having a small red spot in the centre, formed, when in a mass, a bright body of colour,

* There is a village on the Island of Adjuice, which the Captain visited; he found the natives very civil, and procured from them seven goats, for the use of the ship, for five dollars.

nearly allied to that produced by a mixture of red lead with water. Our sailors were so forcibly struck with the extraordinary effect it produced on the water, that they cried out, "this is, indeed, the *Red* Sea;" and our boatswain in his coarse way observed, "it is as red as the blood from a butcher's shambles; if we were to tell this in England we should not be believed."

In the evening, as it grew dark, the mollusca (which we had intentionally preserved) became luminous, having, when undisturbed, that kind of appearance which quicksilver assumes when spread on the back of a looking-glass; on their being agitated they emitted a bright silvery light, and being taken out with the hand and thrown on the deck, or any other object, they retained their highly luminous appearance for more than half a minute. This circumstance appears to me very satisfactorily to account for many extraordinary appearances of the sea that have been noticed in former voyages, particularly in the neighbourhood of Cape Fartak, on the coast of Arabia, of which mention has been made in several journals of our ships which have frequented that coast. The general observation has been, "that the sea looked at night as white as milk," which fact is also noticed by Agatharchides, (De mare rubro, p. 58) who remarks, that hereabouts "the sea appears white, as at the mouth of a river, exciting astonishment with respect to the cause which produces it." In the evening we came to an anchor under the south-east point of the low land of Hurtoo.

On the 8th of February we passed between Chumma and Pilot-Island, and anchored at night, close to the north-west point of Hurtoo, under a low island, affording excellent shelter against a southerly wind.

On the following morning we got under weigh, and steered towards the north-west end of Valentia Island. At noon the weather became calm, and I took the opportunity of making an excursion to a small sandy island, connected by a reef with the northern extremity of Valentia Island, which was at no great distance from the ship. In the afternoon, the sea breeze again sprung up, and we made sail. At four o'clock our schooner, which was a-head, passed over a dangerous shoal, with less

than two fathoms water, which lies in the direct fair-way to Massowa. A musket was immediately fired as a signal for the ship to avoid it. This shoal lies about two miles and a half north-west from the sandy island abovementioned. A true north-east course from Hurtoo point, clears both sand and shoal; but it is not safe to haul up for Massowa, till you have passed the sand full four miles. The examination of this shoal detained us so late, that we were not able to reach Massowa before dark, and in consequence we came to an anchor in thirty fathoms, near Ras Gidam, the weather being extremely calm.

On Saturday the 10th, we reached the harbour of Massowa, and as we entered it, saluted the fort with three guns. Immediately after, on coming to an anchor, we had the gratification of seeing our super-cargo, and a party of Abyssinians standing on the pier. We immediately sent off a boat to the shore, and soon had the pleasure of welcoming the former, Mr. Pearce, and a young Abyssinian chief, named Ayto Debib, on board. The latter had been sent down by the Ras to attend me, and provide whatever I might want during my proposed journey and residence in Abyssinia. He was one of the young men about the court during my former visit, and a portrait of him is given in Lord Valentia's work. I found him much improved in person, and I learned from Mr. Pearce that his conduct had proved so agreeable to the Ras, that about two years before my arrival, he had reinstated him in the district, from which his father had been driven by Fit Aurari Zogo. I had always entertained a very favourable opinion of this young man's abilities, and his character was raised still higher in my estimation on learning that he had shewn a faithful attachment to Mr. Pearce, throughout all the difficulties with which he had had to contend.

I shall here introduce a short account of Mr. Coffin's journey after leaving us at Amphila on the evening of the 10th of January, until the party reached Massowa.

"He soon discovered that the characteristic description of Alli Manda, given by Hadjee Belal, "of his travelling like a dromedary," was perfectly correct; for notwithstanding that they met with an incessant fall of

rain for two days, the young chief kept them constantly on the march for twelve hours each day. Their road lay in nearly a westerly direction, over barren and rugged hills, where they met with occasionally a small village or encampment of the natives, who, out of respect to Alli Manda, treated the party, in general, with civility, though the provisions which they supplied were scanty, and by no means of the best quality.

"On the 13th, in the afternoon, after having travelled nearly fifty miles, they reached a station on the edge of an extensive salt-plain, where they stopped to refresh themselves under the shade of some acacias, near some wells of fresh-water. At this place they were provided by the natives with a sort of sandals, made of the leaves of a dwarf species of palm, which are invariably used by travellers for crossing the salt. The plain above-mentioned lies perfectly flat, in a north-east and south-west direction, and is said to be four days journey in extent. The first half mile, from not being firmly crusted, was slippery and dangerous to pass, the feet sinking every step into the mud, as is usual in crossing a salt-marsh. After this, the surface became strongly crusted, hard and crystallised, resembling in appearance a rough coarse sheet of ice, which has been covered with snow, thawed and frozen again. Branches of pure salt, resembling pieces of madrepore, occasionally rose above the surface; and two small hills stood in the centre of the plain, which bore a very remarkable appearance from their singularly insulated situation.

"This plain took Mr. Coffin and his party about five hours to cross, when they reached the country of the Assa Durwa, which the Ras humorously terms his barbarian territory. On this side of the plain a number of Abyssinians were seen engaged in cutting out the salt, which they accomplish by means of a small adze, and the form of the pieces is similar to that of the whetstone used by our mowers in England. The salt lies in horizontal strata, so that when the edges are once divided, it separates without any great difficulty in flakes: that, immediately under the surface, is exceedingly hard, white, compact and pure; but as the workmen advance deeper, it becomes of a coarser quality, and of a much softer

consistence, until it has been for some time exposed to the air. In some places it continues tolerably pure so deep as three feet, but in general not lower than two, below which it becomes mixed with the soil, and consequently unfit for use. From this plain the whole of Abyssinia is supplied with salt.

"On the 14th, the party proceeded over some steep and rugged passes in the mountain, until they arrived at the village of Dafo, situated in an extensive and verdant plain, inhabited by the Hurtoo, a tribe of Danákil, which was conquered at an early period by the Abyssinians, and has ever since been subject to the Governor of Tigré. Here the actual influence of Ali Manda ceased, but as friends of the Ras, they continued to be treated with hospitality.

"The country beyond this was exceedingly beautiful, and game of various species appeared to be very plentiful. On the 15th, at night, they reached the foot of the mountain Senafé. At this station a Shum, or chief, resides, under the orders of the Ras, who collects a tribute, payable on all the salt imported into the country. A camel carrying two hundred pieces, pays eleven, a mule, whose load consists of eighty only, pays nine, and a loaded ass, six; while men with their burthens are permitted to pass free.

"On the 16th the party ascended Senafé, which is said to be full as high, though not so difficult to pass over, as Taranta. At the summit a complete change of seasons was experienced, and instead of continued rain and tempestuous weather, the sky became unclouded, and they found the inhabitants busily engaged in gathering in their corn. Here they stopped at a village to refresh themselves, and at three proceeded through a rich and fertile country, which at six o'clock, brought them to a large town, called Hammee, where they staid for the night.

"On the 17th they continued their journey to Dirbé, and on the 18th they reached Chelicut. Here, for a short time, they remained unnoticed on the green, Mr. Pearce being absent with the Ras at Antalo. At last one of the priests came out, and took them to a house which had belonged to Ayto Manasseh, a brother of the

Ras, who had died only two days before. Two or three hundred people were at this time assembled, celebrating the 'toscar' or 'feast for the dead;' and most of them had their faces torn and their heads shaven, in order to express their sorrow for the loss of the deceased. Mr. Coffin was conducted into the midst of this assemblage, and placed at the head of the room. Soon afterwards Mr. Pearce arrived from Antalo, and on the following morning, they proceeded together to that place, where Mr. Coffin had an immediate interview with the Ras.

"On the following day, my letter being read, the Ras, in compliance with its contents, ordered Mr. Pearce, Ayto Debib, and one of his chief men of business, Hadjee Hamood, to prepare for a journey to Massowa; and the two former immediately set out with Mr. Coffin on mules, by way of Amba Haramat (while the Hadjee, with about a hundred of the Ras's people, was to follow by easier stages through Adowá.) The first party had reached Massowa on the day previous to my arrival."

This journal I received verbally from Mr. Coffin immediately on his return, assisted by short notes, which he had set down on paper as the circumstances occurred. The geographical information deduced from the bearings and computed distances observed during this journey, which will be found in the map, is of considerable consequence, and being confirmed by a journey of Mr. Pearce through the same districts, may, I think, be depended upon as accurate. I have been since more fully satisfied of this, by a comparison of it with a route given by Jerome Lobo through the same country;* by a reference to which it will be seen, that two centuries have produced no great alteration in the situation of affairs, though by the subsequent chain of events the natives have been broken into distinct tribes, and their consequence much depressed.

There also exists another and better account of this route in the Travels of the Jesuits by Tellez,† written by the patriarch Alphonzo Mendez, with whom Jerome Lobo

* Vide Voyage to Abyssinia by Jerome Lobo, English translation, p. 34, *et seq.*

† Vide the Travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia, Book I. p. 224, *et seq.*

was in company. In this the serpents mentioned by Lobo to have annoyed them on their march, are omitted, which, indeed, I conceive may have altogether arisen from a mistake of Monsieur le Grand, who made his translation from a Portuguese manuscript; the original word, translated serpents, having perhaps been descriptive of the "iron* stones" mentioned by Tellez, which were "like the dross that comes from the furnaces, and so sharp-pointed, that they spoilt a pair of shoes in a day." An important error in Lobo likewise occurs in the spelling of the name of the mountain, over which lies the pass to Abyssinia. It is rightly spelt by Tellez, Sanafé; but in Le Grand, Senaé, and in the English translation, Senaa. Mr. Bruce, and his late editor, have unnecessarily gone out of their way to abuse this first literary effort of Dr. Johnson: but if it be considered only as an abridgment, which it is professed to be in the preface, it will be found to contain as judicious a selection of all that is valuable in Le Grand as could well be expected, with the very circumscribed knowledge of the geography of the country which then existed.

An Abyssinian priest, named Ma-Merri Guebra Eyut, came down with the party from Abyssinia, who entertained an anxious wish to visit Jerusalem, from which intention I subsequently dissuaded him. He was a foolish good-natured fellow, though in some respects he afterwards proved of service, owing to his having gained, by his reputed sanctity, considerable influence over the minds of the people sent down by the Ras.

I found Mr. Pearce, to my great surprise, very little altered in complexion, and he spoke English almost as perfectly as when I left him. It was truly gratifying to witness his raptures at finding himself once more among Englishmen, and in an English ship. In the fulness of his heart he seemed to consider every countryman on board as a brother, and it was interesting to observe, with what respect and astonishment our sailors looked up to him in return, from the various accounts they had previously heard of the intrepidity with which he had surmounted so many dangers. He subsequently gave proofs

* Vide p. 226 of the Travels of the Jesuits.

of extraordinary activity; and his knowledge of a ship, considering how long he had been absent from every thing of the kind, was very remarkable, for, though we had several excellent sailors on board, there was not a single person that could follow him aloft, owing to the rapidity with which he darted from one point of the ship to another.

I was also glad to find that the cultivation of his mind had kept pace with the improvement of his bodily powers. To a complete knowledge of the language of Tigré, which is reckoned by the natives extremely difficult to acquire, he had added a tolerable share of the Amharic, and possessed so perfect an insight into the manners and feelings of the Abyssinians, that his assistance to me as an interpreter became invaluable.

On the 11th, Abba Yusuph and a slave were sent to me by the Kaimakan, with a present of two bullocks and fifteen sheep, accompanied by a request that my first visit might be arranged for the following day. Accordingly, on the 12th, I left the ship and proceeded to the shore, under a salute of thirteen guns from the Marian, which was returned by the discharge of an old dismounted six-pounder, lying on the beach. On landing, I was conducted by about twenty Ascari to the Divan, where all the principal people on the island were assembled. The Kaimakan, a respectable looking Turk, with somewhat of dignity in his manners, sitting in a retired corner, which had been formerly occupied by the Nayib. This chief received me very ceremoniously, ordered sherbet to be handed about, asked the few customary questions, with as much haughtiness as the Grand Seignor himself could have assumed, and then presented me with a kaftan, lined with ermine. All this passing in a wretched apartment, with a low ceiling and a mud floor, in the midst of a half-naked and dirty rabble, produced a most incongruous and ridiculous effect. I continued, however, though with no inconsiderable difficulty, to keep my countenance, endeavoured to sustain my part with all the unbending gravity I could muster, and returned, amidst a crowd of the inhabitants, who attended me with shouting and hallooing, to the shore. I observed during my visit, that the Nayib and his son kept completely in

the back-ground; they paid their compliments at a distance, and looked anxious to converse with me, but were evidently too much under restraint to venture upon such a liberty, in the presence of their superior chief.

On the 13th, the Kaimakan sent to request a private conversation with me in the evening; in consequence of which I went on shore. He received me on this occasion without form, in a small upper room, in a manner very different from that which he had assumed on the preceding day. On our being seated, sherbet and rose-water were handed round, and he offered me his own hookah, which, being considered as a particular compliment, I thought it right to accept. Hamed, the Nayib's son, and some of the principal people of the place were present on my first going in, but, on a hint being given, they shortly afterwards departed, leaving a few slaves only in the room, who being always considered as mutes, upon these occasions, we entered confidentially upon business.

I detailed to the Kaimakan the nature of the mission with which I was charged, and expressed my desire to proceed immediately with his Majesty's presents up into the country. I congratulated him upon my finding Massowa once again in a flourishing condition, under a regular government, and assured him that it was chiefly on account of the letter he had written, that I had relinquished my intention of entering Abyssinia by the way of Buré. I told him, that I was of course aware, that he must be well acquainted with the violent and improper conduct of his predecessor, who, in conjunction with the Nayib, had written so unjustifiable a letter, but added, that I was willing to pass it over, in consideration of being dealt with henceforth in a fair and open manner. I then stated, that though I could not consent to the exaction of duties on his Majesty's presents, yet that I should be happy to make him some private remuneration, and, that the ship, if she discharged any part of her cargo, should pay whatever *reasonable port charges* might be arranged between us.

He answered me, in reply, that "he had been at Stombole, (Constantinople) and in Shām, (Syria) and that he well knew the character of the English. He admired

of her guns. During these transactions several boats full of armed men were seen passing to and from the dows, and a general bustle animated the natives on shore. At this time I confess, that a strong suspicion of treachery on the part of the Kaimakan darted across my mind, on account of his extraordinary, and, as I thought, over-acted civilities: in this, however, I did him great injustice; for, after three hours painful suspense, the Banian returned, and informed me, from the Kaimakan himself, that the vessels belonged to the Sheriffe, Ibrahim Jelani, and other merchants at Jidda, the professed destination of which was to fetch coffee from Loheia; and that they had put into Massowa merely from the want of water. This subsequently I found to be correct.

I learned also, on inquiry, that the brother of Ibrahim Jelani was on board one of the vessels, as agent to superintend the concern, and I soon after received a complimentary message from him, with a request that I would permit him to pay me a visit; to which, out of respect to his brother whom I had known at Jidda, I consented, on condition of his not bringing more than two attendants. Accordingly in the afternoon he came on board attended by two of his slaves only, richly dressed. After the usual salutations had passed, he inquired particularly respecting Lord Valentia and Captain Court, expressed great delight at his reception, and remained more than an hour talking over former transactions. It appeared from his account that the Sheriffe Gualib was at this time acting a double part. He had been compelled by circumstances to profess himself a Wahabee on shore, and in conformity with the orders of Shorood, to wage war with Sheriffe Hamood of Loheia, and the Imaum of Sana. While, at sea, he pretended to continue on the best possible terms with the latter, and wished it to be understood that in reality he was averse from the Wahabee doctrines. I found, that he still affected friendship for the English, which I knew he would persist in so long only as it should tend to his interests, while in his heart he was firmly attached to the French cause, and had, even latterly treated their agents with distinguished attention.

The punishment inflicted a short time before on the Johassim Arabs by the English had produced, I found, the most beneficial result throughout the Red Sea, and, I believe, that we in a great measure owed our safety to this event being known; as the Arabs began to think, that we really dared to resist their insolent proceedings; a circumstance which the unaccountable forbearance of the Bombay government had hitherto given them but too much reason to doubt. Nothing but the most resolute measures will make an impression upon Mahomedans; for, as Jerome Lobo justly observes: "ils sont d'un si mauvais naturel que si on a la moindre complaisance pour eux, ils deviennent bien-tôt insolens et insuportables, et qu'on ne peut les réduire à la raison, ni être bien servi, qu'en agissant avec eux à toute rigueur et les menant le bâton haut."*

Previously to the departure of Mahomed Jelani, I made him a present of a telescope and a small piece of broad cloth, in token of friendship, and I entrusted him with a letter for Captain Rudland, that I might put an end to his anxiety for our safety.

On the 18th I went on shore to visit the Kaimakan, and had another conversation with him, in private, from which it appeared to me, that he perfectly comprehended the political situation and interests of the states bordering on the Red Sea. He assured me that the Sheriffe was really averse from the Wahabee; that the latter were at present weak, and that in all probability a more favourable opportunity would never occur for forming a league against them, which, indeed, he knew was already in agitation between the Imaum of Sana, Sheriffe Hamood, and Sheriffe Gualib, under the sanction probably of the Pacha of Egypt; and he concluded by asking we whether I thought the English might not be induced to assist them. I told him, that they were anxious not to interfere; but at the same time hinted, that, at such a moment, a letter from the Sheriffe to the Bombay Govern-

* They are naturally of so evil disposition that if you treat them with the least complaisance, they become at once insolent and insupportable; and they cannot be reduced to reason, or better served, than acting towards them with rigour and holding the rod over their heads.

ment might prove useful. He then enquired respecting our intentions with regard to Persia, observing, that he understood we had taken possession of Cush, the country of the Banians, bordering on the Sind (Indus.) I answered that I had received no such intelligence; but that I believed it was true, that we had an army stationed on the borders of the Indus, to guard against the proceedings of the French in that quarter.

I afterwards adverted to the order of blockade recently issued by Admiral Bertie against the Isles of France, which at that time greatly occupied the attention of the Arabs. He acknowledged that it had made a great impression at Jidda, and expressed his surprise that such a measure had not been resorted to at an earlier period; adding with a strong emphasis—"how can it have happened, that you so long have permitted the Arabs to "buy under your very nose (taakt el' amph,) the ships "which the French have captured from you: and by "this means to become masters of a trade which was "before exclusively your own? Formerly, all Arabia, "Egypt, and the countries of Africa were furnished by "your ships with Indian commodities; they are now "supplied by vessels belonging to Arabian merchants!" The truth of the first remark, and the justice of the censure were too palpable to admit of a reply; for had the measures ultimately adopted against the Isles of France been carried into effect at the commencement of the war, how many human lives, and how much treasure might have been saved!

On the following morning I received the unpleasant intelligence from Arkeeko, that one of Mr. Pearce's servants, named Tekeli, an Abyssinian, who had been stationed there to take care of the mules, was at the point of death. As I happened to be particularly engaged at the time, I requested Mr. Pearce, and our surgeon, to go down to Arkeeko to enquire into the affair, and if he were dead, to see him decently interred. On their arrival (as Mr. Smith informed me) they found him still alive, though suffering under the violent delirium which commonly attends the last stage of a putrid fever. He had been most injudiciously treated, and was chained, with his face downwards on a couch, so that his body

was bruised, and his skull almost fractured, by the vain efforts he had made to release himself. Soon after Mr. Smith's arrival, he became to a certain degree sensible, asked for Mr. Coffin's gun, with which he had seen him shoot a few days before, and on seeing it became more composed, eat a few dates which were offered him, and begged his surrounding companions to take care of the money tied up in his cloth and give it to his master, telling them "to divide his clothes among themselves." He then called for something to drink, but before it could be brought expired in a violent convulsion.

These are the fevers which so often attack strangers who come down from the interior, and which produce in the minds of the Abyssinians that great dread and horror of the coast which they generally entertain. After death the body was carefully washed, sewed up in a new sheet, which I had sent for the purpose, and decently buried in a spot of ground allotted to the Abyssinians for that purpose. So far indeed did the Mahomedans lay aside their bigotry on this occasion, that two of the Nayib's own people were appointed to superintend the funeral. To secure the grave from the hyænas a trough was first dug, resembling a common grave, on one side of which a kind of shelving vault was excavated, which, as soon as the body was deposited in it, was closed in with thorny branches and heavy stones, and afterwards the first opening was filled with solid earth. The Abyssinian priest who came down with the party, recited the psalms and prayers appointed for such occasions, which are much the same as those used by our own church, and Mr. Smith particularly observed the ceremony of throwing a portion of earth into the grave, when they came to the last solemn farewell, "we here commit his body to the ground, dust to dust and ashes to ashes, in hopes of a joyful resurrection," which seemed to make a strong impression on all who were present. I may be permitted to observe, in this place, that the attention paid to this poor boy gained us not only the good will of the Christians from Abyssinia, but the respect of all the higher classes of Mahomedans. The latter are, in general perhaps, more observant of religious rites than Europeans,

and any apparent want of attention shewn to such ceremonies, injures us materially in their good opinion.

On the 19th, I went on shore with Captain Weatherhead, and, after a long conference with the Kaimakan, came to a satisfactory arrangement respecting the duties to be paid by the ship, which were settled at seven per cent. ad valorem, and seventy dollars were agreed to be paid for anchorage. This agreement was considered by both parties as applicable only to the present transaction; neither the Kaimakan nor myself possessing any authority to come to a final nor general settlement on the subject. Should this ever prove desirable, it must be decided at Jidda with the Sheriffe.

On the following day, in the morning, our long expected cafila from Abyssinia came down, under the care of Hadjee Hamood, who brought with him thirty-five baggage mules, and about sixty bearers. As the means of supplying such a party with provisions might have proved very difficult on the coast, we were under the necessity of using great expedition in landing and arranging the conveyance of our baggage. The light packages and boxes were soon allotted to the respective bearers, and in the course of two days all the mules were laden; the gun carriages being taken to pieces and divided into separate lots: while, for the conveyance of the heavier articles, as well as that of the guns, as far as Taranta, we hired camels from the Nayib.

During this time the difficulty of satisfying all the various parties concerned was inconceivably great. One complained that his load was not heavy enough, another wanted his changed, merely because his neighbour's burthen weighed half a pound lighter; some were sick, others lame; one discontented with the form of his package, it was sharp-cornered and hurt his own or his mule's back, others grumbled that their's were too loosely packed; and in this manner they continued to torment us, from earliest dawn till the final close of day. During this period, we had to endure a thousand impertinences, besides, from the Kaimakan's slaves and soldiers, each of whom in his turn gave us all possible trouble, in hopes at last of being bribed; and to complete our distress, we

suffered all this on a sandy beach, under a broiling sun. At length, what with coaxing, menacing and bribing, every thing, except a few of the heavy packages which were to be carried in a boat to Arkeeko, was satisfactorily adjusted, and I formally delivered the whole over in charge to Ayto Debib and Hadjee Hamood, the Ras's agents. On the evening of the 22d, the Kaimakan sent me a parting letter to solicit another hundred dollars, which I positively refused, at the same time to soften my non-compliance, I made the messenger, Abba Yusuph, a present of twenty dollars.

On the 23d, the Ras's people left the coast and proceeded to Arkeeko, and on the same day, at eight o'clock in the morning, after having parted with Captain Weatherhead, I took leave of the Marian under a salute, and proceeded on shore, to pay my farewell visit to the Kaimakan. He received me at the public Divan, a circumstance of which I endeavoured to avail myself, in the hope of escaping all further notice of the letter he had sent me on the preceding evening. He was not however to be so eluded, for he openly asked if I had considered its contents. I answered, "fully; and as I had already exceeded my orders in making him presents, it was impossible for me to comply with his request." After he had ascertained, by a few additional questions, that I was in earnest, he desisted, and said, very good humouredly, "it is well, let it not alter our friendship?" From the Kaimakan's house, I went for the first time to pay a visit to the Nayib, at which he was evidently much pleased, as it was a compliment he did not expect; and agreeably to my request he consented to depart immediately for Arkeeko.

A few hours carried us down to this dreadful place, where we encountered a second series of plagues, which rendered the annoyance we had suffered on the two preceding days comparatively trifling, when put in competition with what we had now to endure. At Arkeeko the Nayib continued in full power, the Kaimakan having only a deputy there, called the Kiya, who possessed as little influence as the Nayib when residing at Massowa. It now remained for me to satisfy the Nayib, his two brothers, his sons, the Kiya, the head men of the

Hazorta tribe, who were to be our guides, the camel-drivers and the Ascari, all of whom in turn begged for themselves and for each other; and, among this tribe of locusts, I was compelled to distribute nearly five hundred dollars, before I could get clear of the place, with any probability of passing in safety with his Majesty's presents to the mountains.

25th.—With a pleasure somewhat similar to that expressed by Gil Blas, when he escaped from the robbers' cave, we quitted Arkeeko, and at twelve had the gratification of mustering all our cafila, at a station about four miles south from that, I had almost said, accursed town. Among all the descriptions of men I have ever met with, the character of the half-civilized savages found at Arkeeko is the most detestable. As they have ingeniously contrived to lose all the virtues of the rude tribes to which they belonged, without having acquired any thing, except the vices of their more refined neighbours. At Massowa even, where the better sort of townsmen are scarcely equal to the worst of the Arabs, they entertain such a dread of the inhabitants of Arkeeko, that they will not, on any account, stay a night in the place; so that the scale of degradation to which these last are reduced cannot very well descend lower. The only description I recollect that would particularly suit them, may be found in Mr. Bruce's very energetic account of the inhabitants of Sennaar. From this sweeping, though just, condemnation, I must except the Nayib and his two sons, who, laying aside their excessive rapacity in endeavouring to extort presents, were very obliging to us, and seemed to possess many valuable qualities, particularly the eldest Hamed, whose conduct with regard to his family appeared to be very exemplary.

I may here take occasion to mention a circumstance I have before omitted. During our short stay at Arkeeko, we received a visit from two respectable looking Greeks, returning from Abyssinia to their native country. One of them proved to be the brother of Abba Marcorius, an elderly man, who had, in the course of the preceding year, been commissioned by the Patriarch of Alexandria to fill the office of Abuna, or High Priest, of the Church of Abyssinia. Unfortunately for the country, he

had scarcely reached his destination, when he was carried off by an epidemical disorder. His death occasioned great regret throughout Abyssinia, and his followers were at this time proceeding to Egypt, in the hope of persuading the Patriarch to appoint another in his stead. I have not subsequently heard of their success in this undertaking. I was also informed that an Abyssinian Ozoro, of some rank, was travelling in company with these Greeks, on her way to Jerusalem, and I have since had reason to believe that she arrived there in safety, where she intends to reside during the remainder of her life.

CHAPTER VI.

Journey from the Coast—Arrival at Wéah—At Hamhammo—Description of Shum Hummar, a chief of the Hazorta—Encampment at Leila—Dance of the Hazorta—Dangerous point of the road called Assuba—Singular scene which occurred there—Arrival at the bottom of Taranta—Reasons for preferring the road by Dixan—Unpleasant dispute between the Hazorta and our Abyssinian attendants—Description of a curious scene which ensued—Ascent of Taranta—Views from its summit—Change of seasons—Arrival at Dixan—Friendly conduct of the Baharnegash Yasous—Short description of the town and its inhabitants—Departure thence—Plain of Zarai—Village of Ambakauko—Murder of one of our attendants—Proceedings thereupon—March to Abha—Inhospitable reception given us by the Baharnegash Subhart—His character—Alarming scene at Logo Seremai—Description of Baharnegash Arkoe and followers—Arrival at Legote—Remarks respecting the mountain of Devra Damo—Kella—River Angueah—Mansion of Ayto Nobilis near Adówa—Visit to Ozoro Asquall—Journey to Mugga—Thunder-storm—Rude behaviour of the inhabitants of Mugga—Descent to Gibba—Description of the Sanga or Galla oxen.—Departure from Gibba—Arrival at Chelicut.—Kind reception given us by the Ras.

BEFORE I enter upon my journey up the country, I shall endeavour to convey to the reader an idea of the party accompanying me, forming probably the largest that has ever left the coast since the time of the Portuguese expeditions in the seventeenth century. It consisted of four Englishmen, who attended me, Mr. Smith, the surgeon, Mr. Pearce, Mr. Coffin, and a servant named Thomas Ingram; three Arabs, Hadjee Belal, Hyder, and Said, and about one hundred Abyssinian followers, among whom were Debib, Hadjee Hamood, Chelika Havea who had charge of the mules and superintendance of the people, the old priest and about sixty bearers belonging to the Ras; most of the latter being wild desperate young men, who had been accustomed to attend him in his various expeditions. The rest consisted of Mr. Pearce's and Debib's servants, and a few people of the country whom we had hired; besides three chiefs of the Hazorta tribe; Hummar, Omar and Solimaun, and about a dozen of the Nayib's rascally camel-drivers. Of

this party so formidable in numbers, only fourteen were furnished with fire-arms and spears. The others carrying merely slings, knives, and short heavy sticks. I had known two of the Hazorta chiefs in my former expedition; Hummar, who had stood my friend at the bottom of Taranta, and Omar, who had acted as our guide in the journey from Massowa to Dixan: the latter of these I knew to be an unprincipled villain; the third was an entire stranger.

At half past five, the whole caravan having assembled, we commenced our journey. The plain, which we had to cross, extended in a gradual ascent from Arkeeko to the first ridge of mountains, and was occasionally covered with a species of mimosa called Girá. We saw great numbers of camels, sheep, asses and goats in the course of the day, and passed two villages; one of which was called Dukona, and the other Dábi. Round these villages several inclosures of kush-kush or juwarry had been formed, which appeared to be in a very flourishing state, and were guarded by boys mounted on stages like those common in Arabia, of which a drawing is given in the Déscription de l' Arabie, (page 137, Plate XV.) by Niebuhr. At sunset we reached a station on a rising ground, situated at the bottom of the first line of hills, called Shillokee, where we encamped for the night. There was something very exhilarating in the scene we now experienced. The night was clear, and our party soon divided into a variety of groups, each collected round its separate fire; and, at eight o'clock, when the short evening prayer of the Christians, "Jehu-maharnaxoo," ("Jesus forgive us,") chaunted in very harmonious notes, stole along the camp, an awful sensation of independence and inexpressible delight thrilled through my whole frame, only to be conceived by those, who, like myself, had been just emancipated from the irksome confinement of a ship, and a society equally detestable with that at Arkeeko.

On the 26th, at a quarter before three in the morning, we left our encampment, and at half past six, after travelling over a rugged ridge of low hills, the basis of which appeared to be composed almost entirely of granitic rocks rising over a bed of micaceous earth, we ar-

rived at Wéah. This being a pleasant station, and our camels not having come up, we took shelter under some trees growing in the bed of the torrent, where we found some pits of rain water, and remained there for the day; rejoicing at the opportunity which this delay afforded us of becoming better acquainted with our companions. (Course S. b. W. 8 miles.)

We left Wéah, on the following day, at half past two in the morning, and directed our course nearly south-west, through a complete forest of the girâ trees, towards a break in the mountains, leaving a high hill on our left. At half past four, we began to enter among the mountains themselves, where the road became intersected with deep gullies formed by the passage of the waters during the rainy season, and, soon afterwards, we came to a small pass, which bore somewhat the appearance of having been cut through a rock of iron stone,* beyond which commences the country called Samhar. At five we entered into a ravine between two ranges of mountains, rising almost perpendicularly on both sides, up the windings of which the road continues its circuitous course all the way to Taranta. A little further on, we passed two encampments of the Hazorta, who had descended with their cattle from the upper country, from whom we procured with some difficulty three cows for fifteen dollars; and, in about half an hour afterwards, we reached our halting place at Hamhammo, a small circular spot in a nook of the mountains, distant a few hundred yards only from the stream. (Thermometer 81°.) Course about nine miles south-west.

Here we were joined by two Abyssinian chiefs, Baharnegash Isgé and Kantiba Ammon, who had received instructions from the Ras to take charge of our baggage as far up as Taranta; and the former, as he told me, had orders from the Ras to attend us to Antalo. At this station the Nayib's people and the Hazorta began to exercise our patience, but our party was too strong for them to give us any very serious annoyance, and, as I conse-

* Mr. Stuart subsequently observed, in passing this point, that the compass was sensibly affected, the rock containing a considerable portion of iron.

quently felt assured of our security, I received considerable amusement from the study of their characters. Among the Hazorta, Shum Hummar took the lead. He was a tall raw-boned man, of a loose scambling gait, and seemed to possess a very strange compound of character. He was obsequious and mean in the extreme, yet occasionally became imperious, overbearing and haughty. He would fawn upon any one, like the basest sycophant, for the sake of a dollar; yet, even among his equals, his conversation consisted almost entirely in an ostentatious display of his own personal merits. "I am a ruler," "a governor," "a king," "a lion in battle," "my strength is equal to that of an elephant," were the phrases he commonly made use of, and these were uttered with wild and insolent gestures, that evinced, at least, his own belief in the assertions. Mr. Pearce bore this behaviour with tolerable patience for the first two days, regarding him generally with a sort of sullen contempt, but, at this place, on his proceeding still further, and comparing himself to Ras Welled Selassé, Mr. Pearce started up, seized his spear and shield, and placing himself in an attitude of defiance, told him, that "he was not equal to the Ras's meanest slave," daring him to a trial of his strength. The menacing aspect which Mr. Pearce assumed on this occasion produced its proper impression; Hummar pretended to bluster for a few moments, but was evidently daunted. He shortly afterwards came to me, and made a terrible complaint respecting "Mr. Pearce's violence," but as I had witnessed the whole affair, and was much delighted with the manly conduct of the latter, I refused all interference in the business: the former became, in consequence, much more humble, and we never again had cause to be dissatisfied with his behaviour.

On the 28th, at six o'clock, we left Hamhammo. The pass from this place seldom exceeded a hundred yards in width, the ground continuing to form one irregular ascent, which latter circumstance often occasioned the stream to be lost under ground, but it seldom ran any distance without again making its appearance on the surface. At eight o'clock we halted at Sadoon, on a small verdant spot, under the shelter of some bushy trees.

The wilds around us abounded with partridges and other game, in the pursuit of which we passed the day. (At noon the thermometer was 80°, with a few drops of rain.) At one o'clock we again set out, and after a short march passed Tubbo. This spot struck me, as by far the most picturesque on the road; the cliffs and rugged precipices around were covered with vegetation; and the trees and plants being at this time in full verdure rendered it peculiarly beautiful. At three we arrived at Leila, where we pitched our camp for the night.

The Abyssinian mode of forming an encampment is simple and well adapted to journies of this description, where tents might prove too serious an encumbrance. On their arrival at a station, where they intend to stay any time, the men begin to cut down, with the large knives which they carry about them, a number of green boughs, and these they arrange into bowers with so much art, that, when a cloth is thrown over them, they afford not only shelter from the sun in the day time, but complete protection from the cold during the night. Our whole party this evening appeared in high spirits; the Abyssinians from the gratification they felt in having advanced so far on their return homeward; and the Hazorta from the pleasure they experienced in breathing the air of their native wilds. Nothing can be more distinct than the character of the latter people, when shut up in towns, and when residing in the desert; in the former they exhibit a servile and abject demeanour; while in the latter their behaviour takes the opposite turn, and becomes in the highest degree characteristic of an insolent independence. They had been joined in the morning by about a dozen of their comrades, and, when the evening had closed in, they formed themselves into a semicircle, at a short distance from one of the fires, and amused themselves with an exhibition of their native dance. In the absence of better music they were obliged to content themselves with a single tom-tom, the *harmony* of which was greatly heightened by the clapping of hands and a peculiar kind of hissing that I never before had heard, somewhat resembling the sounds produced by a quick and alternate pronunciation of the consonants p, t, and s. Only one person danced at a time,

who came forward in front, keeping up a constant, but not very active motion with his feet, while his whole body, but more particularly his shoulders and breast, was agitated with a writhing gesture, which, as it proceeded, became too violent to be continued. The person thus exhausted retired, and another took his place; but I observed that this exercise was almost exclusively confined to the chiefs, whose proficiency in it appeared far greater than that of their companions, a circumstance owing, no doubt, to their possessing superior strength and activity, qualities extremely requisite for such violent exertions.

To form any correct idea of the scene which surrounded us, the reader must fancy himself stationed on a clear night amidst a grove of lofty trees, standing in a lonely valley and skirted by abrupt mountains, bordered by a winding stream. On such a spot, and under the circumstances in which I was placed, a dance of the above description had a peculiarly wild and fantastic effect, greatly heightened as it was by the gleaming dashes of light thrown on the different objects from a number of scattered fires, round which the natives were clustered in irregular groups. The Abyssinians enjoyed this dance as much as ourselves, probably on account of its striking dissimilarity to their own; and I subsequently observed some of the more lively of our party, when they reached the upper country, mimicking it in a very ridiculous and laughable manner, to the no small amusement of their friends.

On the first of March we left Leila at a quarter before six, and soon reached Assuba; a little beyond, on the left, a pass or gully in the mountains opens into the road, which is considered as by far the most dangerous spot on the passage, owing to a wild set of Bedowee residing there, who are accustomed to make predatory excursions on the cafilas travelling to and from Massowa. Ras Welled Selassé, in the campaign of 1809, sent a party from Zewan Búre, about fifteen miles distant, down to this place. The soldiers composing it met with but few of the natives, as they had retired to their fastnesses; but in one day they plundered them of upwards of two thousand goats, which proved a very serious loss to a

people depending entirely upon its herds for support. Mr. Pearce accompanied this expedition, and he gave me an entertaining account of the wild antics and exultation of the Ras's soldiers when they arrived at the spot where we were standing; mentioning at the same time, that one of their leaders, Ayto Tesfos, was so enthusiastic on the occasion, as to be with difficulty restrained from proceeding onwards, and affording the Nayib a little wholesome instruction at Arkeeko. A little beyond this point we halted, by the advice of our guides, and waited to give protection to our cafila. We took up our position on a steep jutting rock, completely commanding both the ravine and the road by which we had to pass; and, as we stood resting with our arms on its brow, the wildness of the group, together with the straggling parties coming up from among the broken rocks beneath, presented altogether an assemblage of objects worthy the pencil of a Salvator.

It was amusing at this moment to hear the above-mentioned expedition canvassed by the parties concerned in the transaction: Mr. Pearce, Chelika Havea, and others present had been with the assailants; Kantiba Ammon, Baharnegash Isgé, and the Hazorta, among the sufferers; and as Mr. Pearce was giving me his account, Kantiba Ammon, good-naturedly interrupting him, said, "how dare you tell this in the face of those whose brothers and sons you were instrumental in killing?" "And you also were one among them," said Sheik Ummar to the Chelika, "as I recollect seeing you from yonder hill; but you missed the best plunder, for in a deep nook not a mile from this, six hundred oxen were concealed." When this singular conversation had ended and our baggage had passed, we fired a general volley, and then proceeded on our way in the rear of our people, till half past eight, when we arrived at the foot of the mountain Taranta.

Here we encamped, close to two daro trees, in one of the most picturesque situations that I ever beheld, called Tak-kum-ta, under the shelter of a high overhanging rock, forming the angle of meeting to two immense ravines, one of which leads up in a westerly direction, to the central summit of Taranta, and the other in a more

irregular and winding course, to its northern point. This station, at which all cafilas halt, is furnished with water from a bason, formed by nature in a rock, at a short distance up the northernmost ravine; down which, in the rainy season, a tremendous torrent occasionally rushes. The whole of the rocks consist of a reddish species of granite, which from the repeated action of the stream, have in some places acquired a brilliant polish. A spring which rises about a mile higher, affords a supply of water throughout the year, and falls seventeen feet perpendicular into the bason, over a solid block of granite.

We this evening experienced some difficulty in supplying our followers with provisions. Part of them being Christians, and part Musselmauns, it became necessary, (as neither would eat of the meat slain by the other) to kill two cows each day, and, owing to a trick of one of our Hazorta guides, we had obtained at Hamhammo only three; the last of which was now killed for the Christians: the Musselmauns in consequence grew very clamorous, and, in the course of the altercation which ensued, Solimaun, speaking of the Hazorta, made use of the following strong expression, "Pray supply us with food for your own sake; for, when our stomachs are empty, we go prowling about like hyænas, devouring every thing on which we can lay our hands."

On the following day we remained in our encampment waiting to hear of Baharnegash Yasous from Dixan, as it became necessary, before we proceeded further, to come to some final arrangement respecting our passage over the mountains. About half way up, the road divides into two tracks, one of which leads to Dixan and the other to Halai. The former is situated in a district, through which I had formerly passed, commanded by the chieftain above mentioned, who at this period was at enmity with the Nayib and connected in friendship with Kantiba Socinius and Baharnegash Subhart; and the latter lies in the district of Baharnegash Isgé, leading by a separate route through the territories of Kantiba Ammon and Shum Ayto Woldo, friends of the Nayib, two of whom had come down to attend us to Antalo. A quarrel had recently broken out between these parties which had been suspended for a month only, to wait the deci-

sion of some head men, appointed, by joint consent, umpires between them: though, in spite of this variance, both parties considered themselves equally subject to the jurisdiction of the Ras.

As no positive direction had been given to our guides which road they were to pursue, it became somewhat difficult to form our decision on the subject. Mr. Pearce and Debib were inclined to the road by Halai, which was to be readily accounted for from the latter possessing a district adjoining Shum Woldo; while on my own part, I felt a strong predilection in favour of the way by Dixan, owing to the high opinion I entertained of Baharnegash Yasous, and the friendship which existed between us during my former journey. The latter, on inquiry, proved the more prudent plan, as the party commanding this route was admitted to be the stronger, and our going the other way would have embroiled us in the consequences of an unpardonable offence; besides, as the Chelika Havea judiciously observed, "it could not be pleasant for the people to pass through the other district, with the inhabitants of which they had so recently been engaged in decided hostility." For these reasons, after a long conference, it was amicably settled that we should take the route by Dixan, and Kantiba Ammon himself confessed that my determination was right.

About mid-day Guebra Michael, the son of the Baharnegash, arrived, and, at my desire, made the necessary preparations for our passage over the mountain. As the camels left us at this station, a number of additional bearers was hired from among the Hazorta and other natives who had joined our party; in engaging which a serious disturbance took place that appeared likely to have produced very alarming consequences. We had offered two of the Hazorta a dollar to carry a box to Dixan, which they hesitated to accept, when two Abyssinians came up and expressed their inclination to take it for the sum proposed. This gave rise to a warm altercation between the parties, in which Omar (the rascal I have before described) petulantly interfered, and so provoked one of the Abyssinians, a youth about nineteen years of age, by his conduct, that he imprudently lifted up his hand to strike; a violent scuffle in consequence ensued between them,

and they both fell struggling to the ground. Mr. Pearce instantly rushed forwards and rescued the Abyssinian, and the Hàzorta drew back their companion.

Never did I see savage fury so strongly depicted as in the whole frame of the latter: every limb trembled with passion; his teeth were locked, and his eyes appeared ready to start out of their sockets. We were all anxious to put the dispute to arbitration, but, while this was arranging, the infuriated madman broke loose from those who held him, seized a shield and a spear, sprang forwards like a tiger and struck a desperate blow at his unarmed antagonist. Most luckily it did not take effect, and with the violence of the plunge the assailant fell forwards. The whole of the Abyssinians in an instant flew to arms; Omar was seized, and it was with some difficulty we could prevent his being torn to pieces. The dread of our fire-arms at last restored order; and the cry for arbitration, "Waaz, waaz," once again re-echoed throughout the camp. Mr. Pearce, became on this occasion, surety for the Christian, and one of the Hazorta for his countryman; the Baharnegash Isgé, Guebra Michael, and Shum Ummar were chosen arbitrators.

We immediately proceeded to trial; the judges took their seat on a projecting rock, silence was proclaimed, and the parties pleaded their respective causes; when, after many long harangues, it was at last finally arranged, that, as there had been provocation on both sides, and no blood spilt, the past should be forgiven, and the business made up as among friends. This decision being delivered with great solemnity by Shum Hummar, one of the judges, (whose bushy hair dressed out in the true Hazorta fashion, added no slight ridicule to the scene) the affair was amicably settled, and peace once more happily re-established. On this occasion Shum Hummar behaved with great propriety, and evinced a degree of feeling which greatly raised him in our estimation. As to Omar, he was so much alarmed by what had happened when he came to his senses, that he begged my permission to leave us, as he did not dare to venture up Taranta in company with our bearers. I gave him two dollars, and was glad to get rid of him at so cheap a rate.

During the night I was awakened by a general uproar in the camp, and the howling of a small terrier, which had been given me at the Cape by Admiral Bertie. One of the wild beasts which abound in the neighbourhood, had seized it across the breast, and was in the act of carrying it off, when its cries and the shouts of our people, who continued always on the alert during the night, induced the animal to loose its hold, and the dog came howling back to my tent. From the form of the wounds which it had received on each side of the body, it appeared to me, that the animal which had attacked it must have been a species of leopard. The dog afterwards recovered, but died subsequently at Chelicut, of a disease greatly resembling the distemper.

While we continued in our encampment at Tak-kumta, a number of small parties passed by on their way to the coast with merchandize, chiefly consisting of slaves, elephants' teeth, and grain; the natives secure the latter from the weather by enclosing it in kid-skins, which being stripped off almost entire from the animal, are afterwards tanned, and made up into the shape of the goat skins commonly used to carry water on the coast. Thermometer at this station 81°.

On Saturday the 3d of March, at ten minutes before six in the morning, we commenced our journey up the mountain of Taranta. The first part of the road, called Tellimenná, forms for about a mile a gradual ascent, which is much incumbered with loose stones and fragments of rock. We passed over this at a brisk rate, in a west by south direction, when we arrived at a steep and rugged part of the mountain thickly covered with the kolquall, which at this season bore a beautiful appearance, owing to the crimson colour of its seeds, which were closely set on the ends of every branch. This continued for about two miles, when we reached a very precipitous ascent, which shortly afterwards conducted us to a station called Mijdevella, where travellers often stay during the night, on account of the convenience attached to a spring of water in the neighbourhood. It was on this spot that Mr. Bruce slept on his way up the mountain, and, as he asserts, "in one of the many caves which

served for houses to the old inhabitants, the Troglodytes;" these, however, we were not fortunate enough to discover; nor do I believe that they ever existed, except in the imagination of the author; for in spite of the censure passed upon me for what I mentioned on this subject in my former journal, it does not appear to me any argument in favour of the existence of caves on one side of the mountain, that "the houses at Dixan and Halai, on the other side, are formed in a manner somewhat to resemble caves;" but situation and distance seldom stand in the way of these minor candidates for public fame.

From Mijdevella the road takes a south-west direction, and becomes in parts so extremely steep, that though Mr. Pearce and others of our party continued to ride, yet the rest found themselves compelled to dismount, as one false step of the mule might have precipitated his rider into the depths below. To walk, however, or rather to climb, required no trifling effort, for people so long unaccustomed to exertions of this nature, and we consequently felt ourselves obliged every few minutes to rest. Meantime our attendants, who were habituated from their youth to such expeditions, passed merrily on with their burthens, and some of the more light-hearted among them amused themselves and companions by singing extempore verses, in a manner somewhat similar to that, which, I have been informed, German soldiers frequently practise on a march. The person who composed each distich first sang it alone, when it was immediately taken up and repeated in chorus by the rest of the company. One of the songs, composed on the present occasion, was translated literally to me as we proceeded by Mr. Pearce, which I shall here insert, as a characteristic specimen of the very rude poetry in which the Abyssinians delight.

Our fathers are soldiers of the Bandinsâh,*
Each of them has killed his foe.

* This was the name of a horse belonging to the Ras Welled Selassé, on which he fought many of his battles, and it is now become among his followers, a favourite war-appellation for this celebrated chief.

We are young and carry his burthens,
But shall in time fight as well as our fathers.

We now are journeying in a desert country,
Surrounded by wild beasts and savages,

But it is in the service of the Bandinsáh,
And who would not die for him?

The sharp air of the morning, and the wild landscape through which we were passing, together with the shrill cries of partridges and guinea-fowl, that rose up, at every instant, startled by our approach, greatly contributed to enhance the effect of this novel and interesting scene.

Shortly after we reached a point, where a road branches off on the left, leading to Halai. A little beyond, stands a high rock, or overhanging pinnacle, called Gorézo, respecting which, the Abyssinians entertain the tradition of "a young maiden having leapt from it, to avoid a marriage into which her father threatened to force her." The abyss below the rock is frightful to behold. Above this part of the mountain the vegetation begins to change its character, and instead of kolqualls and kantuffà, clumps of trees are found, called Wàra, of a moderate height, bearing leaves resembling those of a willow, the branches of which were profusely covered with lichens. Further on for a short distance, the road appeared to have been cut through a bed of chalk-stone, and, wherever this prevailed, an extensive grove of a hardy kind of cedar, called Túd, flourished in abundance. After having passed over another moderate ascent, we arrived at a lofty height called Sarar. On looking back from this spot, the view over the country we had passed became exceedingly grand; ranges of mountains, one below the other, the tops of which seemed to rise from what might be termed a sea of clouds, extending far into the horizon, where we fancied we could discern the line of the ocean bounding the distant prospect.

From this point we had a considerable descent to make before we again mounted; when, in about half an hour, we reached one of the summits of the mountain, near a station bordering on a small pool of water, described in

my former journey, called Turabo. By this time it was twenty minutes past eight o'clock; so that no more than two hours and a half had been occupied in the ascent since we left our station in the morning at Tak-kum-ta. To refresh ourselves after this exertion we encamped in the plain, enjoying one of the finest mornings that can be imagined, the thermometer standing at 61°.

Soon afterwards we had the pleasure of seeing the greater part of our baggage safely arrive. The heavy packages had been slung on poles by means of ropes, fortunately provided at Mocha, and from ten to sixteen bearers had been allotted to each load, so that they had managed, by relieving each other at intervals, to get up the ascent with tolerable facility. As our situation was now considered perfectly secure, from having reached the territory subject to the Baharnegash, the guns and some of the more cumbrous articles were placed under the care of Guebra Michael, (his son,) with orders to follow us as expeditiously as possible, whilst we ourselves proceeded forward with a detachment carrying the lighter portion of our baggage to Dixan. The view that bursts upon the traveller, as he begins to descend the southern side of Taranta, is one of the most magnificent that human imagination can conceive, extending over the abrupt mountains of Tigré to the pinnacled and distant heights of Adowa, which, though singularly diversified with patches of vegetation, extensive forests of kolquall, and numberless intersecting vallies, were so harmoniously blended together by a luminous atmosphere, as to form one vast and unbroken expanse. On my former journey we descended this mountain in the midst of a heavy and incessant storm. We were then entering upon an unknown country, with dubious steps and no very certain assurance of the reception that we were likely to encounter. The recollection of our feelings on that occasion formed a pleasing contrast to our present sensations; for now every thing promised success, the sun shone bright on the landscape before us, and we were surrounded with tried and faithful followers.

As the steepness of the path we had to descend rendered riding unsafe, we dismounted from our mules, threw the reins over their necks, and left them to make

the best of their way down the mountain, as is customary with travellers in Abyssinia. An hour's walk carried us down the worst part of the road, and we then re-mounted and proceeded forward through a wild and rocky district, along a winding path-way, towards Dixan. The change of climate here began to be very apparent. The heat of the sun became intense and scorching, compared with what we had experienced on the other side of Taranta. The vegetation looked parched, the brooks were dry, and the cattle had all been driven across the mountain in search of pasture. This remarkable and sudden change of the seasons is noticed in one of the earliest accounts respecting Abyssinia; for Nonnosus, an ambassador from the Emperor Justinian to the ruling sovereign of the Axomites, remarks, that, from Ave to the coast he experienced summer and harvest time; while the winter prevailed from Ave to Axum, and vicê versâ.*

At one o'clock we arrived near Dixan, and rode up immediately to my former habitation, situated at the bottom of the hill on which the town is built. Here the Baharnegash Yasous came out to receive us, and greeted us with the hearty welcome of an old acquaintance. The venerable aspect of this respectable chief, his mild and agreeable manners, and the remembrance of the services he had rendered us on a former occasion, added a peculiar gratification to our meeting, and the plentiful stock of maiz and other good cheer hospitality provided for our entertainment, after the hard fare we had been obliged to rest satisfied with on our journey, raised the whole party before evening into very exhilarating spirits.

* De cœli quoque constitutione dicere oportet quæ est ab Ave ad Auxumin, contra enim æstas illic et hiems accidit. Nam sole Cancrum, Leonem et Virginem obeunte, ad Aven usque uti et nobis æstas est summaque cœli siccitas, et ab Ave Auxumin versus et reliquam Ethiopiam hiems est vehemens non integro quidem illa die, sed quæ, a meridie semper et ubique incipiens, coactis nubibus aerem obducat, oram illam inundat. Quo etiam tempore Nilus late Egyptum pervadens, maris in modum, terram irrigat. Cum autem sol, Capricornum, Aquarium et Pisces perambulat, aer vicê versâ Adulitis in Aven usque imbribus regionem inundat; in iis vero qui ab Ave Auxumin cæteramque Ethiopiam versus jacent æstas est, et maturos jam fructus terra præbet. Vide Nonnosus in Photii Bibliothecâ.

March 4.—At the break of day the well known sound of the Baharnegash's voice calling his family to prayers excited my attention, when I immediately arose and joined his party. At this moment, the interval of four years, which had elapsed since my former visit, appeared like a mere dream.—The prayers which he recited consisted of the same words, were pronounced in the same tone and were offered up with the same fervour of devotion which I had before so often listened to with delight: and, when the ceremony was concluded, the good old man delivered out his orders for the day with a patriarchal simplicity and dignity of manner that was really affecting to contemplate. With this impression, still warm on my mind, we ascended one of the hills in the neighbourhood, and, from the top of it, beheld a scene that, as one of my companions remarked, was alone a sufficient recompense for the trouble of passing Taranta. A thousand different shaped hills were presented to the view, which bore the appearance of having been dropped on an irregular plain; and the different shades and depths which the varied aspect of these hills presented, as the sun emerged from the horizon, rendered the scene truly magnificent.

From this point the following set of bearings was taken with a theodolite:

Mountains of Adowa, -	Nonus		— S. 26½° W.
Extreme of the same mountains,	9°	4′	— S. 35¾° W.
Amba Tookeli, - -	13	19	
Mai-sana, - -	23	4	
Ade-owe, - - -	62	57	
Gowitska, - -	72	36	
Computed direction of Massowa, - -	175	19	
Pass of Taranta, -	218	34	
Buré, - -	299	0	
Agamé, - -	322	0	
Cashaat, - -	325	4	
Tigre Micone, - -	327	26	

Esse nearly on a line with the first bearing,—S. 26° W.

I have before given a view of the town of Dixan in my larger publication, and no great changes appeared to have taken place since the time that it was sketched, ex-

cept that a few additional huts or caves had been constructed in the lower town. In the course of the morning I observed some labourers busily engaged in excavating and forming one of these singular habitations, and, as the only tools employed consisted of a small kind of adze, to shape the stones, and the blade-bone of a bullock to dig out the earth and temper the mortar, it was somewhat surprising to remark the facility with which the work was executed. The inhabitants, who came in crowds to look at us, did not seem to be overburthened with clothing. The men wore a short pair of drawers and a loose cloth over their shoulders; and the women had a tanned skin, ornamented with shells, tied round their waists; while the children, both boys and girls, went entirely naked. The country round Dixan at this season of the year wore a scorched and desolate aspect. The only cattle left for the supply of the inhabitants were milch-goats and kids. Large herds of which were brought in by the shepherds every evening and folded near the skirts of the town, to protect them from the hyænas and other wild beasts which prowl about in the neighbourhood. Our rest during the two nights we stayed at Dixan was much disturbed by the howling of these ferocious animals, and the incessant barking of dogs which their approach occasioned. The howling of the hyæna is very peculiar, consisting of three distinct deep-toned cries; after which intervenes, a few minutes interval of silence, when the three cries are again repeated. The nights at Dixan were exceedingly fine; and from the heighth of our situation the stars appeared more brilliant, and consequently nearer to the eye than on the coast.

March 5th.—Having parted from our Hazorta friends, whose company we were not sorry to get rid of, we left Dixan, at six o'clock in the morning, attended by the Baharnegash, and proceeded with recruited spirits on our journey. Our course lay westward, and in about an hour we reached the lofty hill, on which stands the village of Hadehadid, where the women as we passed greeted us with the usual acclamation heli, li li li li li li li, which, as was observed in my former journal, resembles the zirolet of the Syrians. We journeyed hence, nearly due

south, across the plain of Zarai, which at this time looked very bare of verdure, the stream passing through it being completely dried up. The whole country, indeed, had the appearance of being scorched, and we did not meet with water until we had passed the high rock of Addicota. At no great distance beyond, we came to a large daro, standing in the bed of a torrent, where we found some pits of water, a circumstance which determined us to rest there during the heat of the day.

A debate at this place ensued between our guides, whether we should continue in the encampment for the night, or proceed to the village of Ambakauko, which lay about two miles distant on our right. The latter plan was considered by Mr. Pearce as strongly objectionable, owing to the place having been put under contribution, only the year before, by the Ras's troops, in effecting which, as is usual, several lives had been lost; but our people confident in their strength, unfortunately over-ruled this objection, and at their unanimous wish, I was induced to give orders for our proceeding in the afternoon up the steep hill on which the village stands. The reception we met with on our first arrival proved very satisfactory. A house and provisions were supplied by the Shum of the district, and the people behaved with remarkable civility.

After such treatment, the reader may readily conceive our astonishment and horror in the morning, at finding that one of our party, whom I had hired at Massowa, had been barbarously murdered during the night. He had gone out of the inclosure to seek for a draught of water, when he had been set upon by a gang of the villagers, and, being overpowered, had fallen a sacrifice to their revenge. The brave fellow, undaunted by their numbers, had evidently fought with much desperation, and had wounded several of his antagonists, as appeared by the tracks of blood which were found in the morning, leading from the spot where he had been killed, to the town.

The Shum of the district, a respectable old man in appearance, denied all knowledge of the transaction, yet, as the perpetrators could not be found, he was immediately

tied to one of our boys by Debib, according to a singular practice which is universal throughout the country, and carried forward with us to answer for the death, before his superior the Baharnegash Subhart. In the mean time, while we proceeded on our journey, Debib rode across the country to visit his friend Shum Woldo, and to acquaint him with the occurrence; and this chief, though himself a notorious marauder, not only expressed great abhorrence at the treachery of the act, but sent forward immediately a messenger to Baharnegash Subhart, to declare, that if the murderers were not discovered and sent to the Ras, he would himself, before the moon changed, set fire to the town.

Though the day was very fine, this event gave a gloomy complexion to our feelings, which made us not very observant of the scenery through which we passed. Our course lay to the south, and after passing Asceriah, we descended a steep declivity, that brought us into the eastern end of the fine plain of Serawé, which is thickly interspersed with tombo-trees, and seems to extend westward, on a low flat, to Hamazen. This plain may be considered as part of the western boundary of the mountains of Taranta. The country through which we had hitherto descended constituting only the lower ridge of that extensive range. Soon afterwards, we arrived at the picturesque village of Abha, where the Baharnegash Subhart generally resides.

The reception he gave us was very obliging; but there appeared in his conversation, as Ayto Debib observed, using an expressive, though not very polite, English phrase, which he had learned from Mr. Pearce, "so much blarney," in which some of the Abyssinians are great adepts, that it gave us very strong reason to doubt his sincerity. This suspicion, unluckily, did not turn out to be ill-founded; for instead of laying a repast before us, which is always customary on the arrival of strangers, he sent out to me, from an inner room to which he had retired, only a single horn of maiz. This partial distribution of his bounty, being considered by our party as an absolute affront, I refused to receive, and having in vain sent to remonstrate on the subject by three or four

messengers, to whom his servants behaved very insolently, we rose up in a body, left the village, and pitched a tent in the valley below.

This decisive step brought the old man, as was expected, to a sense of the impropriety of his conduct, and he presently afterwards came down the hill, attended by the head men of the place and fell down, cringing abjectly at my feet, until I reluctantly promised to forgive the transaction; but all their solicitations could not induce us to return to a house, where so little respect had been shewn to the laws of hospitality.

In the afternoon a bullock was brought, as a present from the village, and a profusion of maiz and bread. The old man himself returned to partake our good cheer in the evening, when, though he affected to be unwell and to have lost his appetite, he ate about two pounds of brind, and drank a proportionable quantity of maiz. This man possessed throughout the country the character of being particularly crafty, penurious and subtle; which qualities, together with his numerous family connexions, had contributed, more than his courage, towards raising him to the rank which he at that time enjoyed. His own family consisted of twenty-six sons, and about the same number of daughters. One of the former, a very acute and intelligent young man, had paid great attention, in the absence of the Baharnegash, to Mr. Pearce and Mr. Coffin, on their way down to the coast: in consequence, at parting, I gave him the present which had been intended for his father.

March 7th.—We struck our tents at five in the morning, and after proceeding about a mile southward, brought the hill of Cashaat to bear due east of us, at which point, instead of passing over the mountain which leads to Agamé, we turned off a little to the west, and travelled about eight miles through a wild 'barraka' or 'forest,' until we reached an agreeable station, by the side of a river called Seremai. This river shapes its course through the bottom of a small secluded valley, surrounded on every side by steep and rugged hills, in a nook of which, about a mile to the eastward, lay a large town called Logo, whence the surrounding district takes its name. It was at this time commanded by a rebellious chieftain,

styled Baharnegash Arkoe, who in the campaign of the preceding year had been reduced to obedience by the Ras.

We had not long enjoyed our encampment, when some of the shepherds passing by, with droves of cattle, began to quarrel with our people; of this little notice was at first taken, until about an hour afterwards, when we were surprised at observing several bands of armed men starting out, one after the other from different points of the hills, with the apparent intention of gradually encircling us. In this situation, whatever might prove to be the object of our visitors, it became necessary for us to stand on our guard, and be prepared for the worst consequences that might ensue. Accordingly, Mr. Coffin was directed to take charge of our fire-arms, among which, two small brass guns (given me by Captain Street of the Staunch,) made a conspicuous figure, and these were placed on a rising ground, close by the side of Chelika Havea, who, with his people, were ordered to look after our baggage; while, at the request of Mr. Pearce and Debib, on whose experience I placed much reliance, I seated myself with them at a short distance nearer the river, and pretended to be engaged, with apparent unconcern, in smoking a hookah. At this time it became a picturesque, though somewhat alarming, sight, to see the parties winding down from among the hills; and, as they descended into the valley, we could clearly distinguish that they were all armed either with spears or matchlocks. At length, after about a quarter of an hour's suspense, one of the parties came forward, consisting of Baharnegash Arkoe and about twenty of his soldiers, and it was followed up by about one hundred and fifty more of the most desperate and rascally-looking fellows I ever beheld, many of them being scarred with wounds received in former adventures. The chief, equally unpolished in his appearance, accosted us at first without the slightest ceremony, taking us, probably, for a cafila of traders; but on recognising Mr. Pearce and Debib, he expressed much surprise at seeing them, became somewhat more civil in his deportment, and shewed evident marks of being disconcerted, when he found that we were the Ras's strangers, and under his

immediate protection. Shortly afterwards he turned to me, and asked rather peremptorily for my hookah, holding out his hand at the same time to lay hold of it. This I immediately refused, on a private hint given me by Mr. Pearce; and Ayto Debib, on this occasion, assuming all the consequence which his situation conferred, reprimanded the Baharnegash for his boldness, explaining to him, that I was "the messenger of a sovereign whom the Ras considered as his own equal." All this made its due impression, and the chief shortly afterwards rose up hastily, calling out to his soldiers to follow him, adding in a lower tone, "it won't do, we had better let them alone." With these injunctions, his followers, after loitering about for a short time, complied, though on their going away they seemed to regard our packages, as I thought, with a wishful eye, that very evidently spoke their regret at being compelled to leave them unexamined.

Having thus happily got rid of these intruders, we ordered our mules to be prepared, and determined, notwithstanding the intense heat of the day, to proceed on our journey, as we felt that it would be by no means safe to pass the night in so unsettled a neighbourhood. Our road now lay to the S. S. W. through a wild and uncultivated country. We crossed the stream called Mai Belessan. Left the high hill of Amba Anvas on our right, and, after mounting a steep ascent, reached the village of Legóte, which in appearance somewhat resembled Dixan, where we procured accommodations for the night. The distance we had travelled from our last station may be computed at about eight miles; and from the top of the hill on which Legóte stands, we took in the evening a regular set of bearings.

March 8th.—At five in the morning we descended from Legóte, and soon afterwards crossed an extensive and well cultivated plain, to the left of which, as we proceeded southward, lay the mountain of Devra Damo, one of those distinguished fastnesses, which in the earliest periods of the Abyssinian history, served as a place of confinement for the younger branches of the family of the reigning sovereign. The reader will easily conceive, from the circumstance of my being a native of Lichfield,

that my thoughts immediately recurred to the beautiful and instructive romance, founded on this custom by Dr. Johnson, whose character, from a rare union of ability and feeling, was impressed on my mind by local connexion, as an object of admiration, from my childhood; and I feel assured, that I shall stand excused for observing, that the reflections which his interesting tale gave rise to, on this, as well as on many other occasions, added greatly, from a natural association of ideas, to the pleasure which I experienced in traversing the wild regions of Ethiopia.

The mountain of Devra Damo appears to be completely scarped on every side, and, as I was informed, is very difficult of access, having only one path leading up to it; resembling in this respect many of the hill forts in India, as well as in its general character. As soon as I had completed a sketch of it, we proceeded on our journey, and, after travelling a few miles, came to a pass in the mountains, called Kella, which takes its name from the castellated appearance of the rocks in its neighbourhood: 'Kella' in the Abyssinian, as well as Arabic language, signifying a 'castle.' It still continues to be a place where duties are collected from the cafilas. About a mile farther on, we came to a beautiful glen, where a large daro tree stood by the side of a winding stream, the banks of which were richly covered with verdure, and here we stopped to refresh ourselves during the heat of the day.

At this time I conceive we must have arrived at a great height above the level of the sea, for notwithstanding our journey had hitherto tended towards the south, at a time when the sun was proceeding northward, yet we every day found the climate more temperate, and the vegetation backwarder in its progress. It was a subject of continual regret to me, that we could not ascertain this fact; but, unfortunately, the barometer which I had taken from England for this service proved perfectly useless, owing to a great part of the quicksilver having escaped through the cork, which on examination proved to be actually saturated with this penetrating metal. I have been, since my return, informed, that there exists a much simpler mode of ascertaining the heights of moun-

tains; by means of immersing a thermometer, graduated for the purpose, in boiling water: if this should be a correct method, it will prove a very valuable discovery for travellers.

While we continued at our station under the daro tree, I saw several species of birds which I had never before met with: one of these proved to be the Waalia of Mr. Bruce, (Columba Abyssinica of Dr. Latham;) its colour is a most beautiful yellow, shaded off into purple. I also shot a new and elegant species of Musicapa.

At three o'clock we again started; and, after a considerable descent, came to the river Angueah, which runs through a bed of granite, and shapes its course in a north-west direction till it joins the Maleg. Beyond this we had several steep and rugged precipices to mount, when we arrived at the house of Ayto Nobilis, a young chief on whom the Ras had lately conferred this district, as a reward for military service. Here we passed a pleasant day in the enjoyment of the unconstrained freedom, attendant on Abyssinian hospitality.

On the 9th of March we quitted the house of Ayto Nobilis in the afternoon, and proceeded across a fertile valley towards a range of hills lying to the south, leaving the mountains of Adowa about twelve miles on our right. Very extravagant descriptions have been given respecting the shapes of the mountains of Tigré. Mr. Bruce ventures to assert even, that "some of them are flat and thin, and square, in the shape of a hearth stone or slab, that scarce would seem to have been sufficient to resist the winds. Some are like pyramids. Others like obelisks or prisms; and some, the *most extraordinary of all the rest*, pyramids pitched upon their points with their base uppermost."* The reader will readily believe me, when I state, that I did not see a single one which answered to the latter part of the description. With respect to their true forms, a more correct notion may be obtained from the views which I have before published, than from any verbal account that I can attempt to furnish.

* Vol. IV. p. 317.

We had not proceeded far on our journey when Mr. Pearce, Ayto Debib and myself separated by some accident from our company, when it was determined that we should make a short excursion, out of our way, to pay a visit to the Ozoro Asquall, the lady in command of the district. She was one of the daughters of Ayto Manasseh, who had been given in marriage by her friends, when very young, to Fit-Aurari Zogo, a gallant chieftain whom I had seen at the celebration of the Maskal in 1805. After his death, which happened in 1808, she had proved a kind protector to Mr. Pearce, until she had again been forced into a marriage by the Ras with one of the chiefs of Temben, with whom she had since seldom resided. Rather choosing to remain on her own estates, which, it may be here observed, ladies of rank always retain after marriage, together with their maiden names. On our road we had to traverse a steep pass which led us into a fertile valley, and soon afterwards to a lofty hill on which stood the mansion of the Ozoro.

Though our arrival was quite unexpected she received us with great attention; and, on our entrance, introduced us to her husband, who happened at this time to be on a visit to her: he appeared to be a young man of mild and agreeable manners, but was said to possess no very extraordinary ability. The lady herself was tolerably handsome, but was seen to great disadvantage, owing to the family being in deep mourning, on account of the death of Ayto Manasseh. It being usual on such occasions to disfigure the person as much as possible, in proof of the sincerity of their grief. In fact, it may be considered as a sort of scriptural mourning which is practised in this country, both men and women clothing themselves, literally, in "sackcloth and ashes." Our hostess was, at the time of our introduction, engaged in giving a fast dinner to some of her dependants, as is customary during the season of Lent, which the higher classes of Abyssinians observe with strict and scrupulous attention.

In the evening a second repast was prepared for our party, and the lady, as well as the husband, partook freely with us of the maiz. The former appeared to be of a

remarkably gay and cheerful disposition, and not particularly reserved in her manners; frequently interchanging cups with her friend, Mr. Pearce, across the table, and evidently expressing regret at the restraint imposed by her husband's presence. The whole scene, indeed, though not uncommon in other countries, afforded a striking instance of the superiority which ladies of rank in Abyssinia are accustomed to assume over their husbands. A trifling circumstance that took place in the course of our conviviality contributed much to my amusement. I had given a ring to our hostess and another to her spouse, but the lady not being satisfied with the one she possessed, managed by artful endearments to coax her husband out of the other, telling him, among other reasons to induce him to comply, that, "if he would not part with it, it would be plain he loved the ring better than herself!"

On Saturday morning we left the Ozoro's mansion about ten o'clock, and followed a southern course down a highly cultivated valley, through which a stream runs called Mai Feras. The land hereabouts appeared to be highly productive. The first crop of peas had not been gathered in, though the second crop of wheat and barley was making a rapid progress and seemed to promise a very abundant harvest. This productiveness of the soil must be considered, in a great measure, as owing to the industry of the inhabitants and their skill in irrigating the land, the effects of which, where a constant supply of water can be procured, proves highly beneficial. The common mode, practised here, consists in digging small channels from the higher parts of the stream, and conducting them across the plain, which is thus divided into square compartments according to the general practice adopted in India. In the course of the morning the rest of our party re-joined us, and we proceeded to a village situated, as usual, at the top of a lofty hill, where we took up our residence for the night. Here it was determined, for the convenience of the party, that we should divide; and accordingly I proceeded with Mr. Smith and Mr. Pearce in advance, while Debib and the others had orders to follow, by slower marches, with our baggage in the rear.

On the 10th of March we started at day light and travelled for about three hours through a rugged and mountainous district, where the path was often so steep as to compel us to dismount from our mules. This path, at length, brought us to an open country wearing a distinct character from the one we had already passed; exhibiting an extensive plain which stretches down from the hills of Agamé and Haramat, (lying at this time about twenty miles on our left) in a westerly direction as far as the river Tacazze, through the rich districts of Gullibudda and Temben. This plain divides the mountainous district of 'Tigré' (properly so called) from the no less elevated districts of Giralta and Enderta. The former is peculiarly distinguished from the others, by the soil being, in general, sandy, and the rocks rising in perpendicular strata, consisting of slate over schistus and granite. Whereas in the two latter the strata are more inclined to the horizontal direction, and the surface of the vallies consists of a rich black loam, particularly well calculated for the cultivation of barley.

After crossing the above-mentioned plain, we came to a steep ghaut, or pass, which leads up to the same range of country as the one of Atbara, of which a view is given in my larger publication, and this brought us at once into the district of Giralta. Here, after gaining the summit, one of those grand scenes burst upon us, which often occur in mountainous countries, occasioned by the approach of a thunder storm. A heavy mass of clouds, obscuring the horizon, came sweeping over our heads from the south-east, emitting every moment vivid flashes of lightning, while, in every other direction, the sky was perfectly clear and serene, and the landscape* lighted up with a brilliant sun; but this stupendous scene was only of momentary duration, for the storm every instant came nearer, the thunder seemed to roll beneath our feet, and

* At this time, to the north-west, rose the peaked mountains of Adowa. To the west, the loftier, but more distant ones of Samen. To the east, the flat table lands of Haramat, Agamé, and Devra Damo; and beyond these, extended ranges of distant hills, scarcely perceptible to the eye; while close to us, on the south, lay the large town of Mugga, backed by a high, steep, and craggy mountain, which towered above it like a castle into the air.

a heavy shower of rain at once closed the prospect from our view.

This storm, was fortunately of short continuance only, and proved a suitable prelude to the inhospitable treatment which we soon afterwards experienced, in the neighbouring town of Mugga. The Shum of the district being absent, neither house, nor any other accommodations were offered us, and we were at length compelled to have recourse for shelter to some stacks of straw which stood in its vicinity. Mr. Pearce, indignant at this treatment, obtained my permission to go forward to Chelicut, to acquaint the Ras with the difficulties we had to encounter, and to prepare him for our approach. He had not been long gone, when the head-priest of the place came out and offered us a small house adjoining to the church, which we gladly accepted, and he afterwards was kind enough to provide us with a few cakes of bread. This, with a kid which we bought from one of the town's-people, and two jars of soué or bouza, that we got in exchange for its skin, constituted the whole of our provisions, and the night was passed away as well as the incessant annoyance from swarms of vermin, and the continual howling of hyænas, which seemed to be more than usually numerous in the neighbourhood, would permit.

On Monday 11th, we quitted Mugga with great satisfaction, at the break of day, determining to make a long march forward to Gibba, a residence belonging to the Ras, where we had reason to expect more decent treatment. Though the people at the former place have a bad name, yet the district which they inhabit is one of the finest eastward of the Tacazze. The vale, through which the first part of the road conducted us, wore a beautiful aspect, and was interspersed with groves of trees, a circumstance rarely met with in Abyssinia. In about two hours we arrived at a point where another road turns off, towards the pass of Atbara. The route we had taken by Mugga saves this very difficult ascent, but, owing to the incivility of its inhabitants, is rarely frequented by cafilas. I could almost be led to suspect, that Mugga is the district to which Aeizana sent a tribe of the Boja, a set of barbarians whom he had subdued, a circumstance recorded in the inscription which I dis-

covered at Axum. The name of the country there mentioned, is extremely indistinct, but begins with an M, and ends with an A; so that it might, at a much less expense of conjecture than is usual on such occasions, be easily converted by an ingenious antiquarian into Mugga.*

At twelve we rested at a village called Ademaza, where we were received with great attention by the headman, who provided us with the usual refreshments; and after partaking of this good cheer, we again proceeded on our journey. At four o'clock we arrived at a very steep declivity, which we had to descend, down which our mules were led with considerable difficulty; this brought us into a deep ravine, which extends in a direct line to the valley of Gibba. A broad and limpid stream runs down the middle of this ravine, which fell murmuring from rock to rock, (resembling some of the most beautiful parts of the Wye, in the neighbourhood of Builth;) and on each side of the stream extended groves of flowering shrubs and trees, so thickly entangled together, as scarcely to admit of a passage through them. The wild country is extremely picturesque, abounds with game, and is frequented, as it is said, by lions and other wild beasts, which at night resort to the river for water. When we emerged from this ravine it was nearly dark, and shortly after we arrived at Gibba.

This place is situated in a small secluded valley, surrounded by woody hills, and almost encircled by a stream, abundantly supplied with fish and wild fowl. The Ras

* That I may not interrupt the subsequent course of the narrative, I shall here give the result of the affair at Mugga. The Ras, on being informed of the treatment we had received, was exceedingly enraged, and sent off a messenger immediately to take the headmen of the place into custody. In consequence, they were brought up to Antálo while I was residing there, and were ushered as culprits, during a public assembly, into the presence of the Ras. On entering they fell down prostrate on the ground, and solicited for mercy. The Ras, with a stern look, rejected their supplication, and turning to me, declared that their punishment rested in my hands. As I was aware that they had been fined twelve cows, and had otherwise suffered in no trifling degree from the journey, I thought it right to request that they might be forgiven: and the grateful manner in which the poor fellows received this decision, amply repaid me for my forbearance on the occasion.

for many years was in the habit of spending the season of Lent on this delightful spot; but unfortunately, in 1801, his house was burnt down, through the negligence of a servant, and it has never since been rebuilt. A comfortable shed, however, was provided for us among the ruins, and we received every possible attention from the chief Aristi, or bailiff, left in charge of the estate.

Here, for the first time, I was gratified by the sight of the Galla oxen, or Sanga, celebrated throughout Abyssinia for the remarkable size of their horns: three of these animals were grazing among the other cattle, in perfect health, which circumstance, together with the testimony of the natives, "that the size of the horns is in no instance occasioned by disease," completely refutes the fanciful theory given by Mr. Bruce respecting this creature. It appears by the papers annexed to the last edition of Mr. Bruce's work, that he never met with the Sanga, but that he made many attempts to procure specimens of the horns, through Yanni, a Greek, residing at Adowa. This old man very correctly speaks of them, in his letters,* as being brought only by the cafilas from Antálo, and I have now ascertained, that they are sent to this country as valuable presents, by the chiefs of the Galla, whose tribes are spread to the southward of Enderta. So far then, as to the description of the horns and the purposes to which they are applied by the Abyssinians, Mr. Bruce's statements may be considered as correct; but with respect to "the disease which occasions their size, probably derived from their pasture and climate;" "the care taken of them to encourage the progress of this disease;" "the emaciation of the animal," and the "extending of the disorder to the spine of the neck, which at last becomes callous, so that it is not any longer in the power of the animal to lift its head,"† they all prove to be merely ingenious conjectures, thrown out by the author solely for the exercise of his own ingenuity.

I should not venture to speak so positively upon this matter, had I not indisputably ascertained the facts; for

* Vide Appendix to Vol. I. letters 9 and 10, from Badjerund Yanni to Mr. Bruce, at Gondar.

† Vide Mr. Bruce's Travels, Vol. IV. p. 50-51.

the Ras having subsequently made me a present of three of these animals alive, I found them not only in excellent health, but so exceedingly wild, that I was obliged to have them shot. The horns of one of these are now deposited in the Museum of the Surgeon's College, and a still larger pair are placed in the collection of Lord Valentia, at Arley Hall. The length of the largest horn of this description which I met with was nearly four feet, and its circumference at the base, twenty-one inches.

It might have been expected, that the animal, carrying horns of so extraordinary a magnitude, would have proved larger than others belonging to the same genus; but in every instance which came under my observation, this was by no means the case. I shall only further observe, that its colour appeared to vary as much as in the other species of its genus, and that the peculiarity in the size of the horns was not confined to the male; the female being very amply provided with this ornamental appendage to her forehead.

On the 13th, Mr. Pearce returned from Chelicut, charged with many kind expressions of friendship from the Ras. Another messenger soon afterwards arrived, with a mule richly caparisoned, sent by the Ras, as a present, for my own riding; and by the same conveyance an order was forwarded to the Aristi, at Gibba, to provide a cow daily for the consumption of our party, and afford us every other accommodation we might stand in need of. In the afternoon of the 14th, Ayto Debib and Chelika Havea came up with the greater part of our baggage; and, on the 15th, we proceeded in a body towards Chelicut, which place the Ras had appointed for the reception of the mission.

Before I left England I had prepared a suitable dress for the occasion, the most important article of which was a dark red velvet pelisse bordered with fur, which, being folded round the body, served to conceal the rest of the dress, and to give that kind of appearance which I knew the Abyssinians would look up to with respect; for, as to the common European costume, I had formerly observed that it tended to excite a species of contempt and ridicule that occasionally became very unpleasant in its effects. The rest of our party were clothed also as neatly

as possible, for the purpose of making, on our first visit, a favourable impression. The country from Gibba was very hilly, and the road, for a considerable distance, lay along the edge of a steep precipice, from which extended, on our right, a fine view of the adjacent country. The descent from these heights conducted us into the rich and fertile plain of Gambéla, and on the left stood the hill and town of Moculla, one of the favourite residences of the Ras, which I had formerly visited in his company. Since that time, however, the church, which makes a conspicuous figure in one of the larger views which I published, had been burnt to the ground by lightning, and another constructed in its place, with a circular dome resembling that of a mosque, and by no means so well suited to the character of the landscape. The mules having been refreshed during our stay at Gibba, carried us briskly forward, and, at ten o'clock, we gained the summit of a hill overlooking the vale of Chelicut.

Here we waited, by appointment, for a deputation from the Ras, and, in a short time afterwards, two horsemen were seen galloping up the plain with a large troop of armed attendants. On their approach we descended into the valley, and were met by the two chiefs, Shalaka Selassé and Ayto Shiho, who, in honour of the mission, dismounted from their horses, and uncovered themselves to the waist as they came up to pay their compliments. The number of attendants increased every moment as we advanced to Chelicut, and, before we reached the gateway of the Ras's mansion, we found some difficulty in making our way. At length, with a great bustle and a confused clamour, which, on such occasions, is reckoned honourable to the guests, we were ushered into the presence of the Ras. All the chiefs who were present stood up uncovered on our entrance. The old man himself, who was seated on his couch, rose up with eagerness to receive me, like a man suddenly meeting with a long lost friend, and, when I made my salutation, joy seemed to glisten in his eyes, while he welcomed me with an honest warmth and cordiality that nothing but genuine and undisguised feeling could inspire. A seat was immediately pointed out for me on his left hand, which is con-

sidered as the second place of distinction. The one on his right hand being occupied by Kasimaj Yasous, a brother of the reigning Emperor. This prince was fairer than the generality of his countrymen, the features of his face were very regular and handsome, and he appeared to be extremely courteous in his manners. The Ras himself did not seem to have been much altered during my absence, and the pleasure which he evidently manifested at our meeting was exceedingly gratifying to the whole of our party. He inquired with great anxiety respecting my health, and declared, that he had always felt a kind of presentiment that he should see me once again before he died. After a few more compliments, customary on a first meeting, had been interchanged, a repast was set before us, which had been prepared for the occasion; and we were then conducted to a house fitted up for my reception, which had for some time before been inhabited by Mr. Pearce, and possessed better accommodations than are generally to be met with in an Abyssinian habitation. Here, feeling ourselves perfectly at home, we enjoyed a degree of comfort which the fatigues of our journey had not permitted us, for some time before, to partake of. Ayto Debib still continuing to attend me for the purpose of communicating my wishes to the Ras, and every other attention being enjoined to be paid me, that was shewn to the Ras himself.

CHAPTER VII.

Impossibility of proceeding to Gondar—Delivery of His Majesty's Letter and Presents—Their Effects on the minds of the People. Precarious situation of affairs in Abyssinia—Mr. Pearce's Narrative of occurrences during his stay in the Country—The neglect he met with after my departure—His conduct during the Rebellion at Adowa—Return to Antálo—Quarrel with the Ras—Determination to advance into the Interior—Journey to Lasta—Description of Wojjerat—Tribes, called Doba—Assubo Galla, under Welled Shabo—Lake Ashangee—Mountains of Lasta—Senaré—Visit to the Sources of the Tacazze—Determination to proceed to Samen—Journey along the Banks of the Tacazze—Description of the Agows—Ascent of the mountains of Samen—Arrival at Inchetkaub—Interview with Ras Gabriel, the Governor of the Province—Mr. Pearce attacked by ophthalmia—Unfortunate loss of his papers, &c.—Return to the Ras—Reception at Antálo—Departure with the Ras's army against the Galla—Retreat of Gojee, their chief—Progress of the army through Lasta—Desperate Battle with the Galla in the Plains of Maizella—Victory gained over them—Brave conduct of Mr. Pearce—Advance of the army into the Plains of the Edjow—Excursions of the Worari, (or plunderers)—A barbarous practice among them, witnessed by Mr. Pearce—Interview of the Ras with a chief called Liban—Visit to Jummada Mariam—Return to Antálo—Mr. Pearce rises in favour with the Ras—Campaign of 1808, against some rebellious Districts—Singular forbearance of an enemy—Advance of the army into Hamazen—Hunting of the elephant—Return to Adowa—Arrival of letters from Captain Rudland at Mocha—Mr. Pearce's Journey to the Coast—Transactions during a month's stay at Madir—Numerous difficulties and dangers which Mr. Pearce encountered—His Return to Antálo—His situation on my arrival.

IN the course of our journey to Chelicut I had partly ascertained, in conversation with Mr. Pearce and Debib, the impracticability of proceeding to Gondar, as I had proposed, on account of the distracted state of the interior provinces, and the enmity subsisting between Ras Welled Selassé and a chief named Guxo, who at this time held the command of some of the most important districts eastward of the river Tacazze. In a conference which I had with the Ras on the 16th of March, when a long discussion took place relative to the subject of my mission, the difficulties above mentioned were not only strongly confirmed by him, but he also

assured me, that it was absolutely impossible for me to attempt such a journey, unless I could wait till after the rainy season, in October, had subsided, at which time, it was his own intention to march with an army to Gondar; for that, if I were to venture unprotected on such an expedition, the enmity which Guxo bore him would occasion my certain detention, and, in all probability my destruction. I own, that I felt inclined to have braved even these hazards; but, on pressing the point, I ascertained that the Ras was resolved not to permit it, and I knew that it was in vain to contend against his authority. I was therefore reluctantly compelled to give up the idea of visiting Gondar; for, with respect to waiting till after the rains, it was entirely out of my power, on account of the expense which would have attended the detention of the Marian; for, unfortunately, I was positively enjoined by my orders to return in that vessel.

Under these circumstances I was under the disagreeable necessity, in compliance with my instructions, of delivering over his Majesty's letter and presents, designed for the Emperor, to the Ras. Accordingly, this was carried into execution, and the whole of the following week was employed in arranging the presents and presenting them at the court. The painted glass window, the picture of the Virgin Mary, and a handsome marble table, all of which fortunately arrived without accident, gave particular delight; and they were sent immediately to be placed in the church at Chelicut, where I attended with the Ras to see them advantageously arranged. The table was converted into a communion table, the picture suspended above it by way of an altar-piece, and the glass window put in a situation where it produced a remarkably pleasing, though not a very brilliant effect, owing to the peculiar construction of the church, which would not admit of its being exposed to the broad daylight.

While this was passing, Mr. Pearce, at the Ras's desire, played on a hand organ, which had some time before been sent as a present from Captain Rudland, and, notwithstanding the instrument was considerably out of tune, yet, I confess, that, from an association of ideas, I never listened to any thing like music with more delight.

It is scarcely possible to convey an adequate idea of the admiration, which the Ras and his principal chiefs expressed, on beholding these splendid presents. The former would often sit for minutes, absorbed in silent reflection, and then break out with the exclamation "etzub', etzub'," wonderful! wonderful!; like a man bewildered with the fresh ideas that were rushing upon his mind, from having witnessed circumstances to which he could have given no previous credit. After a short time, an appropriate prayer was recited by the high priest, in which the English name was frequently introduced, and, on leaving the church, an order was given by the Ras that a prayer should be offered up weekly, for the health of his Majesty, the King of Great Britain.

The effect produced by the presents on the minds of all classes became very apparent. The purity of our religion ceased to be questioned, our motives for visiting the country were no longer doubted, and our importance, in consequence, so highly rated, that the King's brother shortly afterwards visited me, with the view of securing my interest, should any change be adopted with respect to the government; a circumstance at this time expected by many persons, on account of the differences existing between Guxo and the Ras. I uniformly rejected, of course, all interference in the internal concerns of the country, and, as it appeared to me the proper course to be pursued, consulted on all such occasions confidentially with the Ras.

In order to give the reader an adequate idea of the existing state of affairs, I shall here introduce an account of Mr. Pearce's transactions during his stay in the country, till my arrival, which were related to me at different times during my stay at Chelicut, in the presence of Ayto Debib and others, who had been engaged in the proceedings, and I shall repeat them as nearly as possible in his words, occasionally interspersing a few observations, which may serve to illustrate and connect the chain of the narrative.

I have mentioned in my former journal the reasons which induced me to leave Mr. Pearce in Abyssinia, at the urgent desire of the Ras, and the promises which he had made me respecting the treatment, which, as a stran-

ger, he should experience. For some time after I had left the country, it appears that the Ras had strictly adhered to the good intentions which he then expressed, and, at his particular desire, Mr. Pearce continued to remain attached to the service of Ozoro Setches, the legitimate wife of the Ras. This lady bore a very high character, being descended from one of the first families in the country, and by a stipulation, made at her marriage, claimed a right of receiving a tenth of every musket and cow paid in tribute to the Ras. It may be necessary to observe, in this place, that, although the chiefs of the country by ancient custom assume the privilege of marrying several wives, yet, that one alone is considered legitimate by the church. The only marriage, regarded as indissoluble by the priests, being that in which the parties have taken the sacrament together, subsequently to the celebration of the rites. This ceremony the Ras had gone through with Ozoro Setches, and, in consequence, notwithstanding that his affections had been long weaned from her, yet he found it impossible to dissolve the tie.

With this lady, Mr. Pearce remained, as a sort of confidential friend, for about half a year, through whom the Ras conveyed his wishes, when, owing to the influence of Basha Abdalla, who appears to have been in the interests of the Nayib of Massowa, and some other persons, who regarded his residence at the court with suspicion, the Ras began to view him with a jealous eye, and treated him with indifference and neglect. He still, however, continued to attend the Ras in all his excursions, and to eat at his table; but about the latter end of 1806, the last-mentioned privilege was refused him, owing to his having remonstrated, perhaps, in somewhat too violent terms,* respecting the ill treatment he had experienced,

* Mr. Pearce in one of his letters gives the following description of a dispute he had at this time. "The Ras, when he saw that I was wickedly bent upon his enemies, took a great liking to me, and gave me ten pieces of cloth; these being in nine months expended, I went to the Ras and told him I wanted a fresh supply: in answer, he said, that his own people only had ten dollars for two years, and that he would not give me any more for the present." I then told him, that "he was more like a beggar than a governor, and that I would not stay any longer with him." On this he bid me depart,

and he now became dependent, even for subsistence, upon Ayto Debib and his young friends about the court.

During this period he exerted himself strenuously in acquiring the language of Tigré, a knowledge of which, as he properly felt, could alone enable him to gain the better of his enemies, and regain the good opinion of the Ras. In this he was eminently successful, and an opportunity shortly afterwards occurred of exercising the talents which he possessed.

In March 1807, a rebellion broke out at Adowa, in favour of the descendants of Ras Michael, headed by a number of chieftains, who had long been meditating in secret the destruction of Ras Welled Selassé. The names of the discontented chiefs, who were most of them mentioned in my former journal, were Ayto Ischias, son of Ras Michael, Nebrida Aram Governor of the province of Adowa, Ayto Hannes and Azage Giga, of Shiré, Guebra Amlac of Kella, and Shum Salo of Temben, who, with their united forces, had assembled in the neighbourhood of Adowa.

On the intelligence of this conspiracy being brought to Ras Welled Selassé, who at this time resided at Antálo, he assembled his troops without delay, and accompanied, as Mr. Pearce expressed it, by the provinces of Enderta, Temben, Giralta, Agamé, Haramat, Womburta, Désa, Monos, Wojjerat, Salowé, Bora and Avergale, marched in force to Adowa. Mr. Pearce, on foot with his musket, accompanied the Ras in this expedition, and after travelling eight days, by way of Haramat, they reached their destination. On the news of his approach, the rebellious chiefs fled before him, and sent messengers to negociate their pardon, to which the Ras refused to listen on any terms, but an unconditional surrender.

"for I was too proud to remain with his people." I asked him "in what I was proud?" he replied, "that I did not humble myself like the people of the country." I said, "it was not my country fashion, to salam to the ground like Musselmen when they prayed; that all the love Englishmen had for their masters, was in their hearts, and not in their mouths and gestures." After this he laughed, and said "it was true:" but for all this he gave me nothing; so I bid him farewell.

During the time this was in agitation, the enemy assembled one night in force near the town, to one quarter of which they set fire, with the hope, as it should seem, of its extending to the Ras's house, where the old man lay sleeping, almost unattended, in the full confidence that they meant to surrender at discretion on the following day. Mr. Pearce, with the rest of the troops, had been encamped on the outside of the town, but, on being awakened by a glare of light, he hastened with his musket to join the Ras. The flames had by this time enveloped the gateway, but Mr. Pearce undauntedly forced his way through, and without sustaining any great injury, safely reached the house. Here he found the Ras almost alone with his slaves; none of the chiefs having yet arrived to his assistance. Notwithstanding this circumstance, and though pieces of fire fell repeatedly on the roof under which he was sitting, the old man did not appear in any respect discomposed, but gave his orders, with perfect coolness, for extinguishing the flames, and preventing their farther progress. At last, the gateway being burnt down, some of his principal chiefs gained admittance, who brought intelligence respecting the force of the hostile party assembled.

About this time the kábit, or door-keeper, confessed, that he had been offered a bribe by Palambarus Guebra Amlac and other chiefs, to admit them on the following night through the lower gateway, for the purpose of murdering the Ras. Secrecy on this subject was immediately enjoined, from a hope that the chiefs might be ensnared in the attempt. In the mean time Kouquass Aylo, and a strong body of troops was sent out to make an attack upon the enemy assembled in the plain, and, in a partial action which ensued, twelve of the enemy were killed. On the following evening, according to the expectations of the Ras, Ayto Ischias and Guebra Amlac were observed, at dusk, skulking in disguise near the lower gateway, in expectation of being admitted by the kábit. The Ras being informed of this circumstance, Mr. Pearce and a party of the slaves were sent round, and, coming upon them by surprise, took them all prisoners.

This unexpected blow put an end to the rebellion, for, on the following day, the rest of the chiefs who had been engaged in the business submitted to the Ras's mercy. Guebra Amlac and Nebrid Aram were sent prisoners to a mountain near Antálo, ludicrously called El Hadje, or "the pilgrimage;"—Shum Temben Salo and Ayto Ischias had their shummuts, or districts, taken away from them, and the rest were fined and forgiven. It was a considerable time before any proof could be obtained against Ayto Hannes of Shiré, for the share he had taken in the conspiracy; but, at length, Ayto Saiel, one of his tenants, came in and swore to the knowledge of his being actively concerned in the plot, in consequence of which he was taken up during the following mascal, or feast of the cross, when the chiefs are accustomed to assemble, and sent on a pilgrimage to his companions at El Hadje.

The civil dissensions and broils which took place in Shiré, on the removal of Ayto Hannes, will serve to give a pretty correct notion of the generally-disturbed state of the country at this time, and of the horrors to which a people must always be exposed under a weak and irregular government. On Ayto Hannes being imprisoned, Ayto Saiel was appointed to the command of the district of Shiré; but had scarcely taken possession of his government, when he was attacked in the night and slain by Welled Haryat, Ayto Hannes's brother. As soon as intelligence of this event reached the Ras, he sent Azage Giga to punish the murderers, but the party of the former was so strong, that he resisted all the force sent against him, and overthrew it in a pitched battle. This, however, could not secure him possession of the district, for the son of Ayto Saiel shortly afterwards challenged him to single combat, and slew him; since which time the province has remained quiet, under the rule of the son of Ayto Saiel.

In consequence of the courageous and active conduct of Mr. Pearce throughout the whole of this affair, he, for a time, became a great favourite with the Ras, who presented him with a white mule, and increased his allowances, and, when peace was restored, he was appoint-

ed to the honour of attending Ozoro-Turinga, a sister of the Ras, with an escort back to Antálo. The mascal was this year kept with unusual splendour and very numerously attended; all the principal chieftains evincing great anxiety to prove their attachment to the Ras: a larger number of cattle than is customary were killed on the occasion, and, to use a phrase employed by the Ras's favourite scribe, "the maiz flowed in plenty, like the waters of a river."

The favourable inclinations of the Ras towards Mr. Pearce did not, however, last so long as might have been expected, the enemies of the latter regained their former influence, and shortly afterwards occasioned an absolute rupture; on which occasion, Mr. Pearce boldly declared, in the Ras's presence, that, unless he were better treated, he would go over to the Galla, who were then on the borders of Lasta, and offer his services to Gojee their chief. The Ras, who held the Galla in peculiar detestation, was so greatly enraged at this threat, that he told him he would prevent his carrying that plan into execution, but that he was welcome to go wherever else he chose, provided he might never see his face again.

In consequence of this quarrel Mr. Pearce took leave of the few friends he had left and set out on his mule from Antálo, attended by two servants, a boy and girl, who, from kind treatment, had become much attached to his service. He felt doubtful, at first, which way he ought to direct his course, but, being informed, that the road through Lasta to Gondar was practicable, he resolved to turn his mule to the south, and being anxious to get out of the neighbourhood of Antálo, before his quarrel with the Ras should become generally known, he travelled ten hours a day, which in two days brought him into the province of Wojjerat.

The inhabitants of this district are said to be descended from the Portuguese soldiers, who settled in the country in the middle of the seventh century, and they pride themselves on the distinction which this circumstance confers. They constitute one of the most powerful race of men in Abyssinia, being larger in stature and stouter in proportion than the generality of the natives, and their

fidelity to their rulers has been so remarkable, that it is become proverbial throughout the country.*

Here Mr. Pearce met with very hospitable treatment at the house of one of the Aristies (farmers,) where he observed that his appearance did not excite that kind of surprise which the first sight of a white man is generally observed to produce in other parts of the country. The wife of the Aristi was peculiarly attentive to him, and, on his quitting them the following day, she prepared some cakes, and supplied him with a calibash full of booza for his journey.

On the 28th, having crossed the narrow and mountainous district of Wojjerat, he arrived, in about eight hours, at an extensive and uncultivated plain, inhabited by a people called Doba. One of the isolated tribes of negroes which are to be found occasionally interspersed throughout all the regions of Africa. In the earlier history of the country, the Doba † were considered as a formidable set of marauders, but, latterly, it appears that they have experienced great difficulties in maintaining their native independence. Here Mr. Pearce passed unmolested, on account of his being supposed to travel in the service of the Ras, but he had little communication with the natives, owing to his not understanding their language.

On the 29th, after seven hours travelling, he reached a district called Iyah, held by a tribe of Galla, under

* The inhabitants of Wojjerat form, in my opinion, the strongest contrast that can be imagined to the degenerate descendants of the Portuguese in India, which perhaps may be attributed to the effects of climate and the striking difference in their modes of life. The first, proud of their descent from a race of warriors, were left in a mountainous country, under a temperate climate, to fight their way and maintain their character among savage nations by whom they were environed, and they have ever since kept up an independent superiority. The others, from being the offspring of petty traders, and from living under an intemperate sky, soon dwindled away, amid the debaucheries of Indian cities, into a more degenerate and feeble set of beings than even the natives among whom they resided.

† Vide Déscription Historiale de l'Ethiopie, par Dom. Francisque Alvarez. Anvers 1558, p. 129. "Ces hommes de Dobas sont fort braves et vaillans gens: ayant une telle loy, que personne d'entre eux ne s'y peut marier, sans premièrement faire foy, et declarer par serment d'avoir privé de vie douze Chretiens, qui rend ces chemins tant décriez et si fort dangereuse que personne n'y ose passer, si ce n'est en caravanne, &c." This was written in 1520.

Welleda Shabo, a chieftain distinguished by his uncommon ferocity. Mr. Pearce declared, that he saw this sanguinary wretch drink a great part of a hornful of blood warm from the neck of a cow, though, by a most extraordinary kind of distinction, neither he nor any of his followers would eat of the animal's flesh until it had been broiled. This tribe of the Galla is called, by the Abyssinians, Assubo, a name which in all probability has been recently bestowed, from the circumstance of its having conquered the aboriginal inhabitants, and taken possession of the country of Asab. A sort of paganism is still kept up among these barbarians, and the wanza tree is held by them as sacred; but, with respect to their peculiar mode of worship, no very clear account could be procured. The country which they inhabit is one continued forest, where they pass a rude and uncultivated life,

"The earth their bed, their canopy the sky,"

engaged in pastoral occupations, or in making predatory inroads on the territories of their neighbours. At this time they professed to be at peace with Ras Welled Selassé, and, in consequence, gave Mr. Pearce a very kind reception, and pointed out to him the haunts of the deer and guinea fowl, with which the country abounds, appearing to be particularly delighted with the skill he exhibited in the management of his gun.

On the 30th, he left Iyah, and proceeded to Mocurra, a large town belonging to a tribe of Musselmaun Galla, which is likewise under the jurisdiction of Welleda Shabo. This town is situated about a mile from a fresh water lake called by the natives Ashangee, which is said to be nearly as large as the lake Tzana in Dembea. This supposition, I conceive, must be in some degree erroneous, as its circuit may be accomplished in less than three days. It is named in the Tigré language "Tsada Bahri," or White Sea, and it is said at times to be nearly covered with birds. The natives believe in the tradition, that a large city once stood on the site of this water, but that it was destroyed, in his displeasure, by the immediate

hand of God. To the south of this lake extends the mountainous district of Lasta.

On the 1st of October, Mr. Pearce left Mocurra, and traversing the eastern side of the lake passed through the district of Wōfila, which was then commanded by Degusmati Guéto, a Christian chief, who had married a wife from among the Galla. On the same night, after leaving a smaller lake called Guala Ashangee on his left, he reached Dufat, a village situated on one of the high mountains of Lasta. Here the cold was found intense, and an hoar-frost lay upon the ground. The course Mr. Pearce had hitherto pursued was nearly south, and the distance between each day's journey may be traced on the map.

On the following day he continued his journey to Senaré,* one of the principal towns in the district, where Palambaras Welleda Tecla, brother of Ras Aylo, Governor of Lasta, at this time resided; the chief himself being a prisoner in the camp of Gojee, into whose hands he had fallen in a skirmish on the borders. The latter, with all the inherent cruelty of the Galla, had ordered one of the fingers of his captive to be cut off; well knowing the disgrace which he should inflict upon him in the eyes of the Abyssinians by any species of mutilation. At Senaré, Mr. Pearce was received with much hospitality, though he evidently perceived that the principal people in the country were suspicious with regard to his intention of proceeding to the south; so that he here determined to advance only so far as the Ain Tacazze, and thence to turn off along the course of that river towards the district of Samen, where he entertained the hope of penetrating into the interior with more facility, and for this purpose he joined some wandering people who were travelling that way.

On the third, after seven hours march, Mr. Pearce and his small party slept supperless under a tree on the top of a high mountain, a circumstance which was doubly felt, from the weather being extremely cold; and, on the following day, they descended into the plains of Maizel-

* Senaré is said to lie eight miles west of "Jummada Mariam," one of the churches excavated in the rock by the Emperor Lalibala, which will hereafter be described.

la. Here they met with a favourable reception at a small village in the neighbourhood of the sources of the Tacazze, which Mr. Pearce went to examine in the evening. This river, which may be considered as one of the larger branches of the Nile, rises from three small springs, (called by the natives Ain Tacazze,* or the eye of the Tacazze,) emptying themselves into a reservoir, whence the waters first issue in a collective stream. To a person capable of strong reflection the sources of rivers afford a peculiar charm, for, in such situations, the mind is naturally led to a contemplation of the various countries which the stream has to traverse, and of the different inhabitants whom it has to visit in its course. Similar ideas appear to have occupied Mr. Pearce's attention, on this occasion, for he related to me, that when he stood on the brink of the reservoir, and threw a small piece of wood into the water, he could not help reflecting, how many regions it had to pass through before it could reach the ocean. It may be here observed, that Mr. Pearce, in his journey from Antálo, had not met with any river of importance, until his arrival at the Tacazze, the only stream he recollected, and that a small one, shaping its course northward, through Wojjerat.

On the 5th of October, Mr. Pearce directed his course nearly due north, following the windings of the Tacazze for eight hours, as far as Mukkiné, where, from the accession of a number of small streams, the river swells into some importance, and extends full thirty feet across. From Mukkiné, on the 6th, he travelled five hours to Selah-ferré, a lofty hill, lying about eight miles from the Tacazze; and from this place, on the 7th, he proceeded six hours N. by E. to Socota, the reputed capital of Lasta. This province is extremely mountainous throughout, and forms an almost impenetrable barrier between the two great divisions of Abyssinia, generally comprehended under the names of Amhara and Tigré, two passes only existing through the mountains, which are easily commanded by a small number of troops.

* It is said to be only half a day's journey from this spot to Lalibálá.

Mr. Pearce described the Lasta soldiers as remarkable for their horsemanship, a quality not common among mountaineers; but this in a great measure is attributable to the connexion subsisting between this province and that of Begemder, the natives of which not only pride themselves on their breed of horses, but are also distinguished by the skill with which they train them for service. The language of the country is Amharic, and the inhabitants wear their hair long and plaited, like the natives to the south. In other respects they resemble the Galla more than the people of Tigré, and they are considered, in general, as great boasters, though by no means deficient in courage.

The town of Socōta lies about ten miles from the Tacazze, and Mr. Pearce estimated it to be larger, and to contain a greater population than Antálo. These towns are distant from each other about six days journey. The treatment which Mr. Pearce experienced in the former place was altogether satisfactory, but he felt himself, to secure the continuance of it, under the necessity of concealing from the deputy of Ras Aylo his quarrel with the Ras.

Soon after leaving Socōta, Mr. Pearce arrived in the district of Waāg, commanded by a chief dependent on the Ras, called Shum Ayto Cónfu, and thence, leaving Bora and Salowá on his right, he persisted in his course for three days northward, along the banks of the Tacazze, through Gualiu, the country of the Agows, until he came within thirty miles of Maisada, a town which I shall elsewhere have occasion to describe in the account of a journey which I subsequently made to the Tacazze. During the line of his march, Mr. Pearce had not met with any river of consequence running into the Tacazze, though he had crossed, particularly about Mukkiné, a great number of small streams and rivulets.

It is a singular fact, that there exists among the Agows a peculiar prejudice against furnishing water to a stranger, so that, when Mr. Pearce occasionally visited their huts, he found the occupiers always ready to supply him with milk and bread, but never with the first-mentioned essential necessary. As this did not appear to be difficult to procure in the country, the aversion from bestow-

ing it may possibly arise from some ancient superstition or veneration of the waters, connected with the history of the Nile. An idea strongly confirmed by the circumstance of this people always selecting the banks of the great branches of this river for its residence.

On the 9th of October Mr. Pearce crossed the Tacazze at a ford, where the river is nearly three hundred yards in breadth, which brought him into the province of Samen, whence, after travelling about four miles up a steep ascent, he arrived at the village of Guinsa. On his road to that place he had fallen in with a wandering monk, named Dofter Asko, who proposed, after a short conversation, to join his party, to which Mr. Pearce, as he found him an agreeable companion, willingly consented. He proved to be a man of lively humour, who had acquired a more than ordinary share of the learning of the country, and possessing great natural talents, with an extraordinary degree of craftiness, made a practice of travelling from place to place, without any other object in view, than that of preying on the credulity of the inhabitants. On the present occasion he took upon himself, at Guinsa, to represent Mr. Pearce as a brother of the late Abuna Marcorius, and the son of the Patriarch of Alexandria; an artifice by which the country people became so completely his dupes, that they continually brought in presents of goats, honey, milk, and other articles of which the party stood in need, during the five days that they stayed in the place.

To his other accomplishments Dofter Asko also united that of a physician, and, when the sick applied for relief, he wrote a few characters on bits of parchment, which not only were supposed to cure the maladies under which they laboured, but likewise to act as charms against the agency of evil spirits. Agreeably to the system of quackery established throughout the world, this Abyssinian Katterfelto undertook also the cure of barrenness, and when consulted on these matters, an accommodating screen was affectedly put up, to give an air of propriety to the transaction, which on such occasions is so absolutely necessary to ensure the success of an empiric. He had gained by some means possession of a Latin book, which he professed to read, and pretended

on all occasions to be extremely religious; but Mr. Pearce, who soon became ashamed of his companion's conduct, considered him equally devoid both of religion and of principle. On the 14th, Mr. Pearce and his obliging friend Dofter Asko, whom he found it difficult to get rid of, recommenced their ascent of the mountain; but the former took care to extend the day's journey to so great a distance, that the latter could no longer keep pace with him, and was at last compelled, though very reluctantly, to quit the party. On going away he recommended Mr. Pearce, with apparent friendship, to depend upon his own sagacity for support, telling him, "that none but a fool would starve."

Mr. Pearce had now gained about two-thirds of the ascent of one of the highest mountains of Samen, along a path leading up a deep gully, formed by the force of the torrents. The landscape around was extremely beautiful. Lofty trees of various species growing among the rocks, and the view, at times, opening on a boundless extent of country. The evening of the 15th brought him to Segonet, one of the principal towns in the province, which is situated on the east side of Amba-Hai. Here he was received with attention by Degusmati Welled Eyut, brother of the Governor of Samen, to whom he communicated his story, and in consequence this chief, after entertaining him for two days, gave him a letter of introduction to his brother, and sent a guide to conduct him on his way as far as Inchetkaub.

On the 17th he got to Mishekka, where the report respecting an Abúna, raised by Dofter Asko, having by accident reached the place, the inhabitants, men, women, children, and even the priests came out to receive him, presenting him, as he passed, with a portion of the best things that the country afforded. Among the rest, the wife of an old priest brought out her daughter to receive his blessing, and an old man of seventy fell down and kissed his feet with transport at his arrival. Mr. Pearce felt, as may be well conceived, exceedingly distressed at the situation into which he had been drawn, and assured the good people, though in vain, that they were mistaken; but his new guide, on the contrary, seemed so much to enjoy the consequences of the misunderstanding, that,

by his assertions, he more strongly confirmed them in their erroneous opinion. From this point of the mountain the road became extremely rugged and difficult of ascent; and the snow and ice, which lay in every hollow, rendered the atmosphere piercingly cold, so much so, that his female servant actually cried, from the pain which the severity of the weather occasioned.

On the following day, they passed over the summit of Amba-Hai, which was tremendously difficult of ascent, and at the same time they experienced a heavy fall of snow, which did not, as Mr. Pearce described it, "come down with violence, but quietly descended in large flakes, like feathers." On the evening of the same day they arrived, after a gradual descent for five hours, at Inchetkaub, where they sat down, according to custom, at the gate of Ras Gabriel's mansion, and had not waited more than an hour, before his servants came and led them to a hut, provided them with plenty of bread and meat, and furnished them with a jar of maiz, a beverage to which they had for a long time been strangers.

On the 19th, Ras Gabriel expressed a desire to see Mr. Pearce, who was accordingly introduced into his presence. This chieftain was a tall fine-looking man, about forty years of age, of a dark complexion, having a Roman nose, open features, and a remarkably strong expression in his eye. When Mr. Pearce entered he was seated on his couch, surrounded by priests; and after the first compliments, he began to question the former very mildly respecting his quarrel with the Ras. As Mr. Pearce perceived that the intelligence of this difference had previously arrived, he told his whole story without hesitation, stating his causes of complaint against Ras Welled Selassé, and declaring, that it was his wish to proceed to Gondar, and to enter into the service of Zoldi of Gojam, or some of the chiefs in Amhara. Ras Gabriel listened to him with great attention, but made no immediate reply, saying, "he would converse with him another day," and desired him to retire to his supper.

Two days after, Mr. Pearce was admitted to a second audience, when he found Ras Gabriel again encircled by priests, who, at his desire, began to ask a number of questions respecting his religion and his country. In

answer, he gave as correct an account of both as he was able, and fortunately, from being intimately versed in the Scriptures, his replies afforded general satisfaction: Ras Gabriel, after the conversation was finished, declaring, that "his opinions were very just, and that his religion was a good one." From this time his treatment of Mr. Pearce became very kind; but he continued from day to day to delay granting him permission to proceed, and tried, with great earnestness, to persuade him to return back to Antálo: with this judicious advice, however, the latter could not, for the present, be induced to comply.

About this time, Mr. Pearce, who had for some days before felt a sharp pain in his eyes, was seized with a violent disorder, which, from his description of it, appears to have been a complete attack of ophthalmia. This disease occasioned a temporary loss of sight, and confined him almost entirely to his bed. During this period, he received a friendly visit from one of his most intimate female acquaintance in Tigré, called Wirkwa, who was accompanied by a young man named Guebra Merri, whom she introduced as her brother. At the time of their happening to call, Mr. Pearce's servants were both absent; his boy being engaged in looking after the mule, and the girl having gone out for a supply of water. The visitors, on entering, took a seat by his bed-side, and the lady began, with great apparent fondness and commiseration, to condole with him upon his ill health. In this her brother appeared very heartily to join, and they both together displayed so much tenderness respecting his misfortunes, and expressed so many kind wishes for his welfare, that Mr. Pearce, after they were gone, felt quite overcome with the interest they seemed to take in his welfare, being delighted to find that so much true friendship existed in the country. He had not, however, long enjoyed the pleasure resulting from such feelings, when the return of one of his servants undeceived him, and led to a very unpleasant discovery, as it turned out that these "good creatures," while amusing him with smooth words, had completely ransacked his house, having not only carried away a bag containing his books, papers, compass, shot, powder, and other articles, but even the

very cloth (belonging to one of his servants,) which had been laid as a covering on his bed; leaving nothing behind but the garments which he wore, and his musket, which he had fortunately placed under his pillow.

Happily, on the same day that this occurred, some of Ras Welled Selassé's soldiers passed through Inchetkaub, who kindly interested themselves in his cause, and immediately set out in pursuit of the fugitives. On the following day the girl was apprehended, and being taken before Ras Gabriel, confessed the whole affair. By this means Mr. Pearce recovered a few of the articles, but the journal, compass and papers were irretrievably lost, owing to her brother having effected his escape, and, in consequence, the lady was compelled, by Ras Gabriel, to forfeit her "alwe," or silver ornaments, worn round the ancles and wrists, which were given to Mr. Pearce's servants, in compensation for the cloth which had been stolen.

This untoward circumstance, together with his illness, removed in a great measure Mr. Pearce's desire of advancing into the country, and as he learnt soon after from some of his Tigré companions, that the Ras Welled Selassé was in danger of being attacked by the Galla, who had advanced, as was reported, to the very neighbourhood of Antálo, he determined at once to return: for, in spite of the treatment he had experienced from the Ras, he still felt a considerable degree of personal attachment to him; and with the true spirit belonging to the followers of a feudal chief, which he had imbibed by a residence in the country, could not bear the idea for a moment of his being overpowered by his enemies. In consequence of this resolution, in December 1807, (the disorder in his eyes having abated,) he took leave of Ras Gabriel, for whom he entertained a great respect, and who, in return, had been so much pleased with his conduct, that he presented him, at parting, with a mule, a quantity of powder and ball, and five wakeas of gold, and sent with him one of his confidential messengers, to speak in his favour to the Ras.

On the 24th he reached Mishekka, where they met with another fall of snow, which lay so thick on the ground that it was with difficulty that they made their

way through it. On the following day, (being the 29th of Tisas with the Abyssinians, which is Christmas day,) he arrived at Segonet, and found Degusmati Welled Eyut keeping that festival, who sent them a sheep, maiz, and bread. On the 26th he descended the mountains, and at night reached an Agow village, about eight miles from the Tacazze. On the following day, the river being swollen, they found some difficulty in crossing it; but at length they accomplished this difficult undertaking, and in the evening reached Maisada. The 27th brought them to Asgevva; and the 29th to the neighbourhood of Antálo. As the party advanced, the country was found to be in great alarm, owing to the near approach of Gojee and his Galla, who having obtained possession of great part of Lasta, had reached within a day's march of Enderta.

This alarming intelligence occasioned Mr. Pearce to hasten his progress, and early on the morning of the 30th, he arrived at the gateway of the Ras.

The followers of this Chief, who met Mr. Pearce, expressed great astonishment at his coming back, and many urged him not to venture into the presence, but Mr. Pearce felt too proudly conscious of the motives which prompted him to return, to feel for a moment any dread of the consequences that might ensue, and, therefore, instantly sent in, to request an audience; when he was immediately admitted. As he approached the old man, he found (as he expressed it) "something pleasant in his countenance," and he turned to Gusmati Aylo, of Lasta, who was sitting beside him, and, pointing to Mr. Pearce, said, "look at this man! he came to me, a stranger, about five years ago, and not being satisfied with my treatment, left me, in great anger; but now that I am deserted by some of my friends, and pressed upon by my enemies, he is come back to fight by my side." He then, with tears in his eyes, told Mr. Pearce to sit down, ordered a cloth of the best quality to be immediately thrown over his shoulders, and gave him a mule, and a handsome allowance of corn for his support.

About a week after this the troops of the provinces of Tigré, Enderta, Wojjerat, Salowa, Shiré, Haramat, Giralta, and Tembeṇ, having assembled, the Ras commen-

ced his march against the enemy. His force, on this occasion, is said to have amounted to thirty thousand men, among whom might be reckoned about one thousand horsemen, and upwards of eight thousand soldiers armed with matchlocks. This may be considered as the largest army raised for many years in the country; the object which it had in view having been to repel one of the most formidable invasions of the Galla ever undertaken against Abyssinia. Gojee, the chieftain who headed this incursion, was reputed the greatest jagonah (or warrior) of his age; possessing all the skill in battle for which Ras Michael was famed, and even exceeding him in ferocity. This chief was descended in a direct line from the Guanguol, mentioned by Mr. Bruce, (being the son of Alli Gaz, son of Alli who was the son of Guanguol.) The country which he governs extends from the borders of the Nile in Gojam, to the foot of the mountains of Lasta: and his force was computed on the present occasion to amount to upwards of forty thousand Galla.

The first day's encampment of the Abyssinian army (12th of January) was at Ivertoo, distant only six miles from Antálo, where it halted during the whole of Sunday, a general custom prevailing among the Abyssinians to avoid, if possible, marching on that day. On the 14th, they arrived at Bét Mariam, and, on the 15th encamped in Wojjerat; when the news of their approach having reached Gojee, he retreated into the heart of the mountains of Lasta.

The 17th brought them to the side of the Lake Ashangee, where general orders were issued "to burn, plunder, and destroy." On the 18th they arrived in the district of Wōfila, and on the following day halted at Lāt, on the top of a high mountain in Lasta: here the Ras sent forwards two Alikas with fifty matchlocks each, under the orders of Fit-Aurari Amlac, who fell in with the rear of Gojee's troops and killed two Galla. On Monday 21st the army made a forced march in hopes of overtaking Gojee, who fled in haste before it, being anxious to avoid fighting among the hills; as the chief dependence of the Galla is always placed on their horse. At night the Abyssinians encamped near Senaré. On the 22d they were joined by a few Lasta troops under Sanuda

Abó Barea, and on the same day, Gojee being within sight on a distant plain, dispositions were made for the expected battle; Ayto Welleda Samuel, Chelika Cónfu, Woldo Gavi, Salafe Tusfa Mariam, and Ayto Aylo were sent forward to the right, and the Fit-Aurari advanced on the left, while the main body remained with the Ras in the centre. The right on taking up its ground was attacked by a party of Gojee's advanced troops, who, after having lost above twenty men in the attempt, were obliged to fall back.

The appearance of the army on the 24th, as described by Mr. Pearce, must have produced a very striking appearance. The whole of the troops descending from the hills with a simultaneous movement into the plain. On the opposite side Gojee lay encamped with all his force; and, for a short time, he could be plainly distinguished reconnoitring the army as it advanced. In the evening some of his horsemen came down, within musket-shot to procure water, but both parties remained in their respective stations, though a continual alarm was kept up by the Abyssinians through the night, lest the enemy might attempt to fall upon their camp by surprise.

At the dawn of the ensuing day the Ras drew out his forces for action, but Gojee being unwilling to come to an engagement on a Friday, owing to a superstitious feeling entertained by the Galla against fighting on that day, shifted his ground a few miles back to the plains of Maizella. Beyond this point, Gojee had always declared that nothing should induce him to retreat. The Ras, at the same time, took up his encampment for the night close to the Ain Tacazze, and a flag of truce was sent for the last time to Gojee, offering terms of accommodation; but the latter flew into a violent rage at sight of the messenger, and swore, that, if he returned again, he would cleave him from head to foot; bidding him, with a sneer, to return to "the Badinsáh," and tell him, that, "before the setting of another sun, he and his followers might expect the same destruction that the son of Michael had met with on that very plain, from the hands of his grandfather Alli." This alluded to the death of Degusmati Gabriel, of Tigré, son of Ras Michael, who, it

is singular enough to observe, was actually killed on the plain of Maizella, with the greater part of his army, in a battle fought with the Galla under Alli, the grandfather of Gojee; on which account it was reported, that Gojee had made choice of it for the present scene of action.

In consequence, on the following morning the Ras's army prepared itself for battle. The musqueteers, according to the mode in which they are usually disposed, were sent forward along some rising grounds on the flanks; the right being commanded by one of the brothers of the Ras, and the left by Palambarus Guebra Michael of Temben, while the Ras himself, with the main body of the troops, was stationed in the centre. During the first shock, the Galla, (notwithstanding the annoyance they experienced from the musqueteers) rushed down, making a horrible yell, with such tremendous force on the centre, that, for a moment, it was compelled to give way. The Ras, enraged at the sight, called out for his favourite horse, but the chiefs, who were anxious to keep him out of personal danger, held it back; on which, without a moment's hesitation, he urged his mule forward, and galloped to the front; his white turban and red sheep-skin, streaming wildly behind him, rendering him at once a conspicuous object to his troops. The energy of his action, on this occasion, produced an instantaneous effect upon the Abyssinians; a terrible cry spread throughout the ranks, "the Badinsáh," "the Badinsáh," and, at the same moment, the troops charged with such impetuous fury, that Gojee's horsemen were suddenly arrested in the midst of their career. Repeated vollies of musquetry now poured in upon them from the flanks, at which the horses of the Galla began to take alarm, and, in a few minutes, they were thrown into absolute confusion.

Mr. Pearce was among the first in advance, and the Ras, when he saw him in the thick of the fight, cried out to his attendants, "stop, stop that madman!" but he called in vain; Mr. Pearce pushed on, and soon lost sight of his party. He soon afterwards killed a Galla chieftain of some consequence, and, by his courage, throughout the rest of the day, gained the admiration of all around him. The route of Gojee's troops now became general, and the Abyssinians, who behaved throughout with great

bravery, pursued them nearly sixteen miles to Zingilla: their chieftain, Gojee, having, under circumstances of considerable difficulty, escaped with a few followers into the plains.

On the following morning, no less than eighteen hundred and sixty-five of the barbarous trophies which are collected on these occasions were thrown before the Ras,* at his encampment, under the high fortress of Zingilla. This victory was obtained with only the trifling loss of thirty-five of his men, and two chiefs of no very great consequence, Chelika Murdoo and Ayto Guebra Mehedin, who were killed in the outset of the action. Among other advantages accruing from this victory was the capture of one of the wives of Gojee, his musical band, and an immense train of female attendants, with various utensils for cooking.

On the 27th, the strong hold of Zingilla surrendered, by the taking of which, five and twenty Abyssinian chiefs of some note were released, who had been held in confinement by Gojee. Among these was Degusmati Tumro, Governor of the province of Begemder, who has, since that time, been strongly attached to the Ras. At this station the troops halted for two days, when the drum was again beat to arms; and the troops advanced a few miles, until they came to the brink of a precipice, which Mr. Pearce described to be the steepest he had ever seen, commanding an extensive prospect over the plains of Edjow. Here the troops remained encamped for seven days, sending out parties, in every direction, in search of plunder, which were perpetually engaged in partial skirmishes with the enemy. The Abyssinian name for soldiers engaged in this irregular species of warfare is Worari.

On the 5th February, 1808, the army was put in motion, and descended the precipice before mentioned into the plains inhabited by the Galla. This invasion of their territory produced dreadful alarm throughout the coun-

* This horrible custom (if it be not borrowed from the Jews) is probably of Galla origin, and is early mentioned, as being practised on the East coast of Africa. Vide De Bry, 1599, "De Caffrorum militiâ. Victores, victis, cæsis et captis pudenda excidunt, quæ exsiccata regi in reliquorum procerum presentio offerunt," &c.

try, and Gojee, on the same day, sent a flag of truce, by four prisoners he had taken, to the Ras, to propose terms of surrender, submitting his cause to the arbitration of another powerful chief of the Galla at that time in friendship with the Ras, called Liban. This chief (the son of Mahomed Kolassé and grandson of Hamed) was a young and handsome man, about twenty years of age, who commanded a large tract of country, comprehending a portion of Begemder, the whole of Amhara, and the greater part of an extensive region, which was formerly termed the kingdom of Angote. Soon afterwards the drums were beat, and an order issued throughout the camp, that no one under pain of death should commit any further act of hostility. The truce was, however, of short duration; for, on the following day, some of the soldiers who had gone out in search of forage being killed by the Galla, the drum was again beat and free license given to the Worari to renew their predatory excursions.

In the course of these desperate expeditions, scenes of barbarity were occasionally said to have occurred, which appear strongly to corroborate an account given by Mr. Bruce respecting a circumstance that he had witnessed in travelling from Axum to the Tacazze,* which, from being too generally discredited, has drawn upon him much unmerited ridicule and severity of criticism. I shall proceed to relate one of these occurrences which Mr. Pearce himself witnessed.

On the 7th of February, while these transactions were passing, he went out with a party of the Lasta soldiers on one of their marauding expeditions, and in the course of the day they got possession of several head of cattle, with which, towards evening, they made the best of their way back to the camp. They had then fasted for many hours, and still a considerable distance remained for them to travel. Under these circumstances, a soldier attached to the party, proposed "cutting out the shulada" from one of the cows they were driving before them, to satisfy the cravings of their hunger. This "term" Mr. Pearce did not at first understand, but he was not long left in doubt upon the subject; for, the others having assented,

* Vide Vol. IV. pp. 333, 4.

they laid hold of the animal by the horns, threw it down, and proceeded without farther ceremony to the operation. This consisted in cutting out two pieces of flesh from the buttock, near the tail, which together, Mr. Pearce supposed, might weigh about a pound; the pieces so cut out being called "shulada," and composing, as far as I could ascertain, part of the two "glutei maximi," or "larger muscles of the thigh." As soon as they had taken these away, they sewed up the wounds, plaistered them over with cow-dung, and drove the animal forwards, while they divided among their party the still reeking steaks.

They wanted Mr. Pearce to partake of this meat, raw as it came from the cow, but he was too much disgusted with the scene to comply with their offer; though he declared that he was so hungry at the time, that he could without remorse have eaten raw flesh, had the animal been killed in the ordinary way; a practice which, I may here observe, he never could before be induced to adopt, notwithstanding its being general throughout the country. The animal, after this barbarous operation, walked somewhat lame, but nevertheless managed to reach the camp without any apparent injury, and, immediately after their arrival, it was killed by the Worari and consumed for their supper.

This practice of cutting out the shulada in cases of extreme necessity, is said very rarely to occur; but the fact of its being occasionally adopted, was certainly placed beyond all doubt, by the testimony of many persons, who declared that they had, likewise, witnessed it, particularly among the Lasta troops. I certainly should not have dwelt so long, or so minutely, on this disgusting transaction, which "even the distresses of a soldier cannot warrant," had I not deemed it especially due to the character of Mr. Bruce, to give a faithful account of this particular oocurrence, since I have found myself under the necessity of noticing, on several other occasions, his unfortunate deviations from the truth.* I may here

* The greatest objection against Mr. Bruce's story appears to be the barbarity of the action, but I am, at this moment, intimately acquainted with two gentlemen who personally witnessed the fact, in England, of a butcher's boy dragging along the grass a Newfound-

mention, that the Abyssinians are, in general, very expert in the dissection of a cow, a circumstance owing to the necessity of a very exact division of the several parts among the numerous claimants, who are entitled to a certain portion of every animal that is killed; and I have also to add, that whenever I subsequently mentioned the word shulada to an Abyssinian, I was uniformly understood.

Let me here caution the reader against confounding this isolated fact, with the general practice attributed to the Abyssinians by Mr. Bruce,* of keeping all the animals they slaughter alive during the time that they are preying on their flesh; an horrible and detestable refinement in barbarism, sufficient to stamp them among the lowest of the human race. Upon this question I still remain of opinion, that Mr. Bruce is decidedly mistaken, no such practice having ever been witnessed by myself, or having ever been heard of by Mr. Pearce, or any other person with whom I conversed; and the Ras, Kasimaj Yasous, Dofter Esther, and many other very respectable men, who had spent the greater part of their lives at Gondar, having solemnly assured me, that no such inhuman custom had ever come under their observation. They all, indeed, asserted that it was impossible; and as a proof of it, remarked, "that it would be flying in the face of heaven, as the person who kills the animal invariably sharpens his knife for the occasion, and nearly dissevers the head from the body, pronouncing the invocation; "bism Ab wa Welled wa Menfus Kedoos:" in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost," which gives a kind of religious sanctity to the act.

A few days after the army had encamped in the plain, (during which period Gojee had sent repeated messages to the Ras, to deprecate his anger,) a deputation arrived in the Abyssinian camp from Degusmati Liban, for the purpose of arranging a meeting between this chief and the

land dog, which he had previously skinned, down to a river side, (while the animal was yet alive,) for the purpose of drowning it, with a degree of indifference that could have scarcely been expected from the rudest barbarian.

* Vide Vol. IV. p. 487.

Ras Welled Selassé, and it was agreed between the parties, that it should take place half way up a high mountain in the neighbourhood, on which Liban was encamped. Accordingly on the 8th, the Ras, attended by about thirty of his most confidential people, ascended the mountain, and soon arrived at the place where the interview had been appointed: when it came, however, to the point, Liban, who was a very young man, became so much alarmed, through the dread he entertained of Ras Welled Selassé, that he did not dare to come down; in consequence of which, the Ras, with the daring intrepidity for which he is at all times so much distinguished, took Mr. Pearce and two of his bravest "jagonahs," or "fighting men," and advanced into the midst of Liban's camp, where they found the young chief seated on a rude stone, in front of a body of his people.

It is scarcely possible to imagine a more striking instance of the superiority which intrepid spirit and mental ability confer in a barbarous country, than that which was exhibited on the present occasion; for though the Ras was so feeble, that he could scarcely walk unsupported, and Liban, on the contrary, possessed all the strength and energy of youthful vigour, yet, on the approach of the old man, he was evidently awed, and it was some time before he could collect his thoughts sufficiently to enter upon the proposed conversation. In a short time, however, he recovered his spirits, and in the course of the discussion which ensued, it was settled that the Ras should desist from further hostility, on condition of Liban's pledging himself for the future good conduct of Gojee; the latter, on his part, accepting the guarantee, and binding himself never again to invade the Abyssinian territory during the life of the Ras.

Previously to my tracing the Ras's progress back to his capital, it may, in this place, be proper to introduce a short account of the Galla immediately under the command of these two powerful chiefs.

I have before stated my opinion, that the Galla entered Abyssinia from the south, by the way of Melinda and Patta, and upon this subject little doubt can, I conceive, be entertained, from the circumstance of the tribes still forming an uninterrupted chain to those points. Like

the Goths and Vandals, who spread themselves over the greater part of Europe, the Galla poured in separate tribes into this part of Africa, at different periods, according to the prospect of advantage or settlement; and, like the former, in a short time became naturalized, and have, in many instances, adopted the language, manners, and customs of the natives they have conquered.

With respect to their invasions in three great divisions, each consisting of seven tribes; their government "established under kings, Lubo and Mooty, elected every seven years;" "their councils of chiefs," and other circumstances related by Mr. Bruce, they appear either to be customs or traditions peculiar to the Maitsha Galla, with whom Mr. Bruce conversed,* or to be confined entirely to the southern tribes,† as among those I am describing, no such regular political government is known to exist. As far as I could ascertain from the Ras, who spoke the language of the Galla, and seemed to be intimately acquainted with their history, it appeared that no common bond of union subsists between the different tribes, except that of their speaking the same language; twenty tribes, at least, being known perfectly independent of one another, each ruled by its peculiar chief, respectively at enmity among themselves, and the character of the people essentially varying, according to the districts in which they have settled.

The two larger divisions of the Galla, known under the general appellation of the Edjow, live under the rule of the two chiefs above mentioned, Gojee and Liban. The most powerful of the two is said to be Gojee, which seems to be owing chiefly to his personal prowess; for the other commands a greater extent of country, keeps a larger body of horse, and is allowed by Gojee himself to assume the higher title of Imaum. The latter generally resides in a district called Werho-Haimanot, close by the river Bashilo, and part of his subjects are more civilized than the rest of their countrymen. I saw several of the former at the court of the Ras, and their manners, dress, and habits, seemed by no means inferior to those of the

* Vide Bruce, Vol. III. p. 241, &c.

† Some account of these will be subsequently given from different sources of information.

Abyssinians; indeed they are said to have become so completely naturalized in Amhara, that most of the principal people speak the language of the country, and dress in the same style. This improvement in their habits is in a great measure, I conceive, to be attributed to their having adopted the Mahomedan religion, which, with all its faults, has here, at least, tended in a certain degree to humanize its followers, and has led to the abolition of those inhuman rites and practices, which heretofore had disgraced the character of the eastern natives of Africa.

The subdivisions of the Edjow Galla are numerous. Those under Gojee are called Djawi and Tolumo, while those commanded by Liban are styled Wochali, Woolo, and Azowa; to the north-east of which reside the more barbarous tribes of the Assubo. The Ras also mentioned to me, that besides these, the Maitsha, and the Boren Galla, who reside in Gojam, another tribe is found near the Abay, or White River, more barbarous in its character than any of the others, called Woldutchi, which retains all the sanguinary ferocity of its first ancestors. The Woldutchi, like the Assubo, drink the warm blood of animals,* adorning themselves, in the same way as some of the southern natives of Africa, with the entrails of animals, and still continuing the practice of riding on oxen.

In the course of my conversations on these subjects, I made many enquiries about the story told by Mr. Bruce† respecting Guanguol; but the Ras assured me this could not be correct, as he knew Guanguol well, who was very respectable in his appearance, and when he visited the court, received great attention. He told me, however, that scenes somewhat similar to that described by Mr. Bruce, were often represented by the jesters about the court; so that it seems not unlikely that the story originated from some such circumstance, if it be not an im-

* Will it be believed, that in the fifteenth century, one of the monarchs of France, Louis XI., "dranke children's blood to recover his health!" yet this is seriously stated by a commentator on Philip de Commines, on the authority of "Gaguin," without any observation upon the barbarity of the act.

† Vide Vol. VI. p. 43-4.

proved edition of an incident related by Jerome Lobo,* which occurred to him among the Galla, in the neighbourhood of Jubo, as Mr. Bruce, though in the habit of constantly abusing the Jesuits, was not averse from borrowing pretty largely from their works, of which the reader may be satisfied by a comparison of his writings with either those of Tellez or Lobo; particularly the former, from whom he has taken whole pages without any acknowledgment.

The Ras, as I have before mentioned, having concluded a peace with the Galla, mutual presents were exchanged, and on the 20th he set out on his return, by the way of Zingilla and the sources of the Tacazze. On the 22d, Mr. Pearce attended some of the principal chiefs, on a visit to Jummada Mariam, an holy church, which is entirely excavated out of a steep rock, and surrounded by groves of fir. This appears to be one of those singular excavations so minutely described by Father Alvarez,† who twice visited them during his stay in the country, and which were supposed to have been constructed in the tenth century, by one of the Abyssinian emperors, named Lalibala. The workmanship of this church was said by Mr. Pearce to have been very curious, and to have produced an effect extremely imposing in its general aspect. From the description, it must have been very similar to the one, which I formerly visited on my way to Chelicut, called Abba os Guba.‡ The priests be-

* Rélation Historique d'Abyssinie, p. 23.

† Vide Alvarez' Déscription de l'Ethiopie, p. 139, et seq. and J. Ludolf's Commentarium, p. 235. "Ce sont églises, toutes entièrement cavées dans pierre vive, taillée d'un artifice incroyable : et se nomment ces églises Emanuel, Saint Sauveur, Sainte Marie, Sainte Croix, Saint George Golgota, Bethléen, Mercure et les Martyrs.§

‡ Vide Lord Valentia's Travels, Vol. III. This was also seen by Father Alvarez, vide page 119, of his work; and near it he mentions a stream called Coror, (probably the Warré,) which has since been magnified into a river of far too great consequence in modern charts.

Alvarez, Déscription de 1558, l'Ethiopie, page 142. L'église de notre Dame n'est pas si grande que celle de Saint Sauveur, mais

§ These are Churches entirely excavated out of the living stone, cut with incredible art—and are named Emanuel, The Holy Saviour, St. Mary, The Holy Cross, St. George of Golgotha, &c.

longing to this establishment had some Portuguese or Latin books in their possession; but they could not be induced to part with any of them, owing to their being regarded as precious relics, with a sight of which they occasionally indulge the numerous votaries who visit this holy shrine.

On the 23d, the army proceeded to Cōbah; on the following day to Durāt, and thence to Antálo, where it arrived on the 1st of March. In consequence of Mr. Pearce's conduct in this campaign he became a great favourite with the Ras, as well as with his chiefs, particularly with Guebra Michael, Shum of Temben, who from this time continued to make him an annual allowance of corn. The Ras also presented him with a handsome mule, and gave him twenty pieces of cloth, in value about twenty dollars, and not only granted him the privilege of eating on common occasions at his table, but sent for him to his feasts at midnight, where they were generally

elle est beaucoup plus industrieusement labourée, et d'un ouvrage plus artificiel, ayant trois nefs: dont celle du milieu est tréhaute, embellie de plusieurs tailles de roses, merveilleusement bien tirée sur la pierre même. Chacune d'icelles nefs a cinq colonnes, soutenant leurs arcs en voute, fort bien liées, et y a une fort haute colonne de surcroit vers la croisée, sur laquelle s'apuye une poile. On voit au bout de chacune nef, une chapelle et son autel,—et contient cette église nonante trois paumes en longueur, et soixante trois en largeur, ayant d'avantage, devant les trois principales portes, quatre colomnes carées par dehors, loin de la muraille environ quinze paumes, avec trois autres qui semblent joindre à la muraille: ayans d'une à autre leurs arcs enrichis de beaus ouvrages.—Le circuit de l'église est fort large et plaisant, tant d'un coté que d' autre: et appert la montagne d'autour venir à la même hauteur de l'église. Il y a encores en front des portes principales, entaillées au même roc, une grande maison, &c.*

* The church of Notre Dame is not so large as that of the Holy Saviour, but is much more industriously finished; and with more art, having nine naves. The middle one very high and embellished with roses marvellously well cut in the solid stone itself. Each one of these naves have nine columns sustaining the arches of the roof, strongly united. There is also a very high column towards the cross—you behold at the end of each nave a chapel and its altar; this church is ninety three palms long and sixty three wide, and has before the three principal doors, four square columns, distant from the wall about fifteen palms, with three others that appear to be joined to the wall. The arches of all these columns enriched with handsome work. The circuit round the church is large and pleasant. The top of the mountain is of the same height as the church. There is again in front of each principal gate, cut out of the same rock, a large house, &c.

favoured with a sight of the fair Ozoro Mantwab. At this period, Mr. Pearce married a very amiable girl, daughter of an old Greek, named Sidee Paulus. She was much fairer than the natives of the country, and extremely agreeable in her manners.

Affairs continued in this kind of regular train, the Ras going about from Moculla to Gibba, from Gibba to Chelicut, and from Chelicut to Antálo, till the end of the rains, when a rebellion having broke out, headed by my former acquaintance, Subegadis, and his brothers Guebra Guro and Agoos, who refused to come in with their tribute, the Ras marched himself early in 1809 in great force to suppress it. The first day carried the army to Dola; the second to Aggula; the third to Saada Amba Haramat; on the following day it reached Ade-Kulkul in Agamé; and on the 6th proceeded to Mokiddo, in the neighbourhood of which the troops continued encamped for two months. During this time the army lost many men, and suffered great annoyance from the peculiar species of warfare carried on by its enemies, who, during the day-time, invariably retired to inaccessible fastnesses in the mountains; while at night they ventured abroad, and made continual attacks on the Ras's encampment, killing every straggler on whom they could lay their hands.

While the army remained on this spot, Mr. Pearce went out on an excursion with Badjerund Tesfos and Shalaka Lafsgee, and others of the Ras's people, for the purpose of carrying off some cattle which were known to be secreted in the neighbourhood. In this object the party succeeded, getting possession of more than three hundred oxen; but this was effected with very considerable loss, owing to a stratagem put in practice by Guebra Guro, and about fourteen of his best marksmen, who had placed themselves in a recumbent position on the overhanging brow of a rock, which was completely inaccessible, whence they picked off every man that approached within musquet shot. At one time Mr. Pearce was so near to this dangerous position, that he could understand every word said by Guebra Guro to his companions, and he distinctly heard him ordering his men not to shoot at either him, (Mr. Pearce) or Ayto Tesfos,

calling out to them at the same time with a strange sort of savage politeness, to keep out of the range of his matchlocks, as he was anxious that no harm should personally happen to them, addressing them very kindly by the appellation of "friends."

On Mr. Pearce's relating this incident to me, I was instantly struck with its similarity to some of the stories recorded in the Old Testament, particularly that of David "standing on the top of a hill a-far off, and crying to the people and to Abner, at the mouth of the cave, 'answerest thou not Abner?' and now see where the king's spear is, and the cruize of water at his bolster."* The reader conversant in Scripture, cannot fail, I conceive, to remark in the course of this narrative, the general resemblance existing throughout between the manners of this people and those of the Jews previously to the reign of Solomon, at which period the connections entered into by the latter with foreign powers, and the luxuries consequently introduced, seem in a great measure to have altered the Jewish character. For my own part, I confess, that I was so much struck with the similarity between the two nations during my stay in Abyssinia, that I could not help fancying at times that I was dwelling among the Israelites, and that I had fallen back some thousand years upon a period when the King himself was a shepherd, and the princes of the land went out, riding on mules, with spears and slings to combat against the Philistines. It will be scarcely necessary for me to observe, that the feelings of the Abyssinians towards the Galla partake of the same inveterate spirit of animosity which appears to have influenced the Israelites with regard to their hostile neighbours.

The Ras finding that he could make only a trifling impression on the enemy he had to encounter, burnt the town of Mokiddo, and left the country; having previously made over the district to Thadoo, one of the bro-

* Vide Chapter 24th and 26th Samuel I., in which many striking passages may be found applicable to the above-mentioned transactions, and Mr. Pearce might with great truth, have said to Guebra Guro, as Saul said to David, "and thou hast shewed this day, that thou hast dealt well with me, forasmuch as when the Lord had delivered me into thy hand, thou killedst me not."

thers of the rebellious chieftains, whose force was supposed to be more than sufficient to repel any aggression the latter might dare to undertake.

On the first day the Ras's army marched to Adegraat, thence to Gullimuckida, and on the third to Seraxo, a small district belonging to Ayto Welleda Samuel, who being firmly attached to the Ras's cause, orders were issued to the troops to abstain from every species of plunder. Three days afterwards the army passed through Sawa and Rivai Munnai, and arrived at Gehasé, a small district belonging to Mr. Pearce's friend Ayto Debib. Here some of the soldiers, in opposition to orders, having committed various acts of hostility, the old Ras was so exceedingly enraged, that he mounted his horse, rode to the spot, and was with difficulty restrained by the chiefs from slaying, with his own hand, one of those who had been concerned in these disorders.

On the following day the expedition took place, which I have before mentioned, to Zewan Buré, while, at the same time, an attack was made upon the district of Shum Woldo, where upwards of three thousand cattle were said to have been taken in one day, besides immense quantities of corn: in consequence of which the whole camp exhibited, for some time, a continued scene of festivity and confusion. After staying a week at this place, the Ras crossed the plain of Zarai into the districts of the Serawé, and thence proceeded to the borders of Hamazen; where, in frequent skirmishes with the Shangalla, (whom the Abyssinians barbarously consider it a kind of sport to hunt down,) the Ras lost fourteen men. The inhabitants of Hamazen are said to bear a very distinct character from the rest of the Abyssinians, and seem in many respects to be more nearly allied to the Funge, who reside in the neighbourhood of Senaar; being dark in their complexions, strong limbed, desperate in character, and fighting with two-edged swords.

At this time Lent having set in, the Ras took up an encampment near Adebara, in a beautiful and fertile plain lying on the bank of the river Mareb, which constantly supplied his table with various kinds of fish. Here two powerful chiefs of the country, named Guebra Mascal and Ayto Solomon, came in, with great splendour, to

pay their tribute, and, soon afterwards, the Ras set out on his return to Adowa. In the course of this march, which lay for the most part through a wild forest, great quantities of game were taken by the troops, and immense numbers of elephants were met with; in the pursuit of which the Ras seemed to take particular delight. On one occasion, Mr. Pearce mentioned, that a whole herd of these tremendous animals were found feeding in a valley, and the troops having, by the Ras's orders completely encircled them, no less than sixty-three trunks of these beasts were brought in and laid at the Ras's feet, who sat on a rising ground, which commanded the whole scene, directing his soldiers in the pursuit. During the progress of this dangerous amusement a considerable number of people were killed, owing to a sudden rush made by these animals through a defile, where a large party had been assembled to stop their advance. After this occurrence, nothing material happened until the arrival of the army at Adowa.*

Here Mr. Pearce was fortunate enough to receive a letter from Captain Rudland, dated Mocha, May 17th, 1809, informing him of his arrival at that place, and requesting him to come down to Buré, where he promised to meet him. The delight which Mr. Pearce felt at this letter is not to be conceived; and on the 27th of June, in compliance with its contents, he left the Ras at Adowa, and proceeded on his way to the coast, in expectation of finding Captain Rudland there, with an English ship. In this expedition he was attended by four servants of his own, and seventeen of the Ras's people, with a Bedowee interpreter attached to the Ras's service, who spoke the language of the country. In four days afterwards he reached Senafé, and descended into the plains of Assadurwa.

At this place Mr. Pearce first met Alli Manda, who informed him, that no vessel had arrived on the coast except Yunus's dow, which was waiting at Amphila. The Ras's people, disheartened by this intelligence, returned back, and, on their leaving him, Mr. Pearce divided with

* The particular detail of each day's journey may be traced on the map, as I have there laid down every place worthy of note, from the bearings and distances given me by Mr. Pearce.

them the small stock of dollars which the Ras had given him for his journey. At the same time, Shum Ishmaiel, a friend of the Ras, commanding the district, allowed him an escort of the natives, under his brother Maimuda, with orders that they should accompany him to Madir, and there wait his return. After five days journey through the country of the Arata and Belessua, Mr. Pearce arrived safely at the coast, near Hurtoo, and thence passing by Aréna, proceeded to Madir, where he was joined by Yunus Baralli, from whom he was exceedingly distressed to learn, that the dow had left the coast, and that no direct means existed of forwarding the news of his arrival to Mocha. Mr. Pearce, notwithstanding, procured a wooden pen, and wrote on a small piece of paper, which he begged from a Somauli, an account of his arrival to Captain Rudland, with which Yunus agreed to go down to Ayth, whence he conceived he might more readily procure means of conveyance to Mocha.

Mr. Pearce was now left in one of the most unpleasant situations that can be imagined, being surrounded by a rough set of marauders, who at no time are well disposed towards the Abyssinians, and having to provide for fifteen people out of the trifling pittance of six dollars, which was all that he had now left. In this deplorable state of suspense he remained till the 20th of July, when, to add to his misfortunes, a boy came down from Ayth, and informed him that Yunus still remained at that place; not having yet been able to obtain a passage to Mocha. The party had already been much distressed for provisions; having for some time lived solely on goat's flesh (which they had bought upon trust,) no meal or bread of any kind being procurable on the coast. On the arrival of this news from Ayth, it appeared, that they were likely to be deprived even of this last resource; for the natives refused to trust them further, unless they would give up their spears, shields and knives, in payment for what they had already consumed. In consequence of this difficulty, Mr. Pearce discharged the attendants who came down with him, and gave them a letter to the Ras, telling him, that "he had requested them to leave him, on account of the scarcity of provisions; but, that he

was determined to wait himself for Captain Rudland's arrival, though it might cost him his life."

He had now only four servants left, but even with this small number to provide for, he was reduced to great extremity, and conceived that he should have been actually starved, had it not been for the arrival of a dow, which touched at the port: the master of which, named Adam Mahomed, humanely supplied the party with a few dollars worth of juwarry and dates, in exchange for a bill on Mocha, saying "that he could not bear to see an Englishman in distress for provisions."* Some days after this, when all hope began to be given up of an arrival from Mocha, Mr. Pearce was warned by a Somauli, then trading on the coast, "to take care of his life," and shortly after he discovered, through his interpreter, that Kudoo, the Dola of the place, instigated by Alli Manda, had laid a plan to murder him, and, that it was proposed afterwards to sell the Abyssinians who had accompanied him for slaves; each of whom, it was said, would have fetched an hundred dollars in Arabia. In consequence of this information, Mr. Pearce kept continually on his guard, and by his alertness fortunately frustrated an actual attempt that was made to destroy him.

One rainy night, after he had retired to rest, and was supposed to be asleep, he heard the footsteps of a man cautiously moving near the place where he lay, and in a moment afterwards he observed the glimmering of a spear pointed at his breast; but before the person who held it had time to strike, he rushed forward, and caught hold of it by the shaft, and drawing his own knife at the same time, was on the point of plunging it into the body of the assassin, when the intreaties of his attendants, alarmed by his moving, fortunately restrained his intentions. On a light being struck, it was discovered that the vil-

* This feeling appears to be very general among the Arabs: the high respect they entertain for the English character makes them feel ashamed to see a person belonging to this nation in difficulties. During my stay at Mocha, Hadjee Salee, an Arab trader, brought two Englishmen to that place whom he had picked up at Lamo, where, but for his charitable assistance, they must have starved. These men had run away from an East Indiaman at Johanna, and had gained a passage to the African coast in a native boat.

lain was Kudoo himself, who, in a very suspicious way, pretended to turn off the whole affair as a joke, declaring that "he only did it to try the courage of a white man."

At length, on the 7th of August, Mr. Pearce was released in a great measure from the dangerous and critical situation in which he had been placed, by the arrival of Yunus's dow, which had brought over Mr. Benzoni from Mocha. On its coming to an anchor in the harbour, a note* was sent off by one of the boatmen, who swam on shore, to Mr. Pearce, and he immediately embarked in the same primitive mode, attended by his servants, to the dow, as Mr. Benzoni expressed a wish to see him immediately, for the purpose of ascertaining what kind of reception he might be likely to meet with from the natives. On the following day the party returned on shore accompanied by Mr. Benzoni, on a catamaran fitted out for the occasion, and a meeting took place between him and the Dola, who had prepared a hut for his accommodation. A number of goods, brought over by Mr. Benzoni, for Mr. Pearce to carry into the country, were subsequently landed by the same curious conveyance, consisting of a quantity of cast-off musquets, several pieces of damaged velvet, a few pistols, some glass wall shades, and other articles; part of which were intended as a present to the Ras, and the rest were designed to make a trial of the commerce of the country. For some time, Mr. Pearce refused to take charge of these goods, as he thought that "it would be a mere act of insanity to attempt carrying them, or any other commodities through a country inhabited by such savages as the natives through whose hands they had necessarily to pass;" but, at length, from the earnest solicitations of Mr. Benzoni, who conceived that he had conciliated the chiefs by the presents he had made them, he was reluctantly induced to wave his objection.

In consequence, a number of hides were procured, and Mr. Pearce went on board the dow to make up some of the more valuable packages, that their contents might not be ascertained by the natives. While he was thus

* I have this note in my possession, as well as copies of several of Mr. Pearce's letters written relative to this subject.

occupied, he heard a strange kind of outcry on shore, which he knew to be the war-shout of the Bedowee, and at the same moment, he observed about two hundred of the Dumhoeta advancing from the north-west, towards the village; in consequence, he immediately hastened on shore, impressed with an apprehension that Mr. Benzoni might be alarmed at so unusual an occurrence. On reaching Duroro, he found that the party, which had come down, consisted of Alli Govéta, Alli Mukáin, Aysa Mahomed, and other chiefs of the Dumhoeta, who, by the time Mr. Pearce reached the spot, had assembled, according to the usual practice, in compliment to Mr. Benzoni, dancing, and quivering their spears in front of the house where he resided. A conference ensued between these parties and Mr. Benzoni; when, after a distribution of cloth, tobacco and other trifling presents among the chiefs, it was arranged, that the road to Abyssinia should be opened, and that camels should be provided by the natives for the carriage of the goods into the country.

Mr. Pearce, however, was by no means satisfied with this arrangement, for, observing that Alli Manda, whom he knew to be his enemy, had private conferences every day with Alli Govéta and the other chieftains, he felt assured that mischief was intended him, and therefore requested Mr. Benzoni to give up the idea altogether, and to carry him and his attendants over to Mocha, whence, (as he had sworn to the Ras, if alive, to return,) he would proceed under Captain Rudland's orders to Massowa. This was again over-ruled by Mr. Benzoni, who, having entered into a solemn compact with Alli Govéta and Alli Manda, upon their oath, for the protection of the goods through their country, felt assured, that the enterprise might be still accomplished, and as he at the same time threw out a hint, that Mr. Pearce considered as reflecting on his courage, the latter at once declared, "that his life was in the hands of God, but that if he lived it should be done."

Twelve camels were accordingly hired, and a mule for Mr. Pearce to ride upon, his own having died at Madir, and Mr. Benzoni presented him with an hundred dollars, and supplied him with two bottles of brandy, two bags

of rice, and a piece of salt beef for his journey, besides distributing twelve dollars among his followers. Every thing being thus arranged on the 13th, Mr. Benzoni gave him his blessing, and, after urging him to be careful of the goods committed to his charge, took leave and returned to the dow; while at the same time, Mr. Pearce, with a melancholy foreboding of what might ensue, proceeded to the completion of this ill-fated expedition.

When the evening had advanced, Mr. Pearce and his cafila halted at Essé, a short distance only from Amphila, for the purpose of laying in a stock of water, near which place he was joined by an escort, consisting of Alli Manda, and about forty-seven of his followers. They remained undisturbed at this station till midnight, when about one hundred of the natives came down, close to their encampment, with lighted torches, and playing their usual antics. Mr. Pearce supposed this party to consist of Alli Govéta and his friends, who had promised Mr. Benzoni to accompany him, but of these he never saw any more, the party in question proving entire strangers. Shortly afterwards, Alli Manda came to him and said, "a great man has come down; we shall not be able to proceed without making him a present." Mr. Pearce, after remonstrating against so early a breach of faith, sent about four pounds of tobacco, which was contemptuously returned, the chief asking "if that were a present for a man like him?" Mr. Pearce then enquired of Alli Manda what would be likely to satisfy him; when the latter, after a long preamble, proposed the sum of twenty dollars. Mr. Pearce for some time evaded this demand, pretending, "that he had nothing of the kind;" when Alli Manda rose up, and swore "that he knew to the contrary; for he had been told by some of Yunus's people, that Mr. Benzoni had given him a hundred." This unlucky discovery reduced Mr. Pearce to the necessity of offering ten dollars, which was accepted. Soon after which, however, two more *men of consequence* were brought forward; to each of whom, after resisting their demands, he was compelled to give five more.

On proposing to start in the morning, three of the camels were missing, and before he could replace them, he was obliged to give nine other dollars, and an additional

quantity of tobacco. The danger of his situation became now so apparent, that he sent one of his servants back to Madir, to communicate, if possible, with Mr. Benzoni; but, to his great distress, he discovered that the dow had departed from the coast. No alternative now remaining, the party was compelled to proceed.

During the two following days they advanced without molestation, until they reached the northern boundary of the salt-plain, where Alli Manda having arrived among his friends, pretended to treat the party with extraordinary attention, and presented the people with two kids and a quantity of milk; which, unfortunately, proved only the prelude to a second exhibition of knavery. On Mr. Pearce proposing to recommence their journey, Alli Manda with seeming good-nature assented, and gave instant orders for the camels to be prepared; shortly after, the boy, to whom he had given the order, came running back in a hurry, and whispered something in his master's ear; on which the hypocrite rose up, apparently in the most violent passion, and turning to Mr. Pearce with well-affected sorrow, told him, "that all the camels had run away:" this intelligence at once opened Mr. Pearce's eyes to the farce Alli Manda had been acting, and he now in his turn manifested a burst of rage and indignation, which the other had only dissimulated, feeling greatly disposed to close the scene at once, by shooting the rascal, who, for the instant, stood abashed before him. The safety of his attendants again restrained his just resentment, and seeing no remedy, he coolly sat himself down, made a rude kind of tent to shelter himself from the sun, and determined patiently to abide the result of Alli Manda's nefarious practises.

At length, after remaining three days on the spot, during which he was incessantly pestered by the natives for presents, Alli Manda returned to him with the news, that eight of the stray-camels had been found, urging Mr. Pearce to hire four more, without which they would not be able to proceed. Mr. Pearce resisted this fresh imposition three days longer, in the vain hope of evading it by his perseverance, but finding at last, that his stock of rice became exhausted, he was under the necessity of once more acceding to the terms proposed, and accord-

ingly paid twelve dollars and some tobacco for the additional camels.

On the 26th, the party started at twelve o'clock, and towards evening reached the first gully of the mountain they had to traverse, down which a stream of water continually runs throughout the year. Here Mr. Pearce began to congratulate himself on having passed the plains of Arata, which he considered as the most dangerous part of his journey; but the natives did not long permit him to enjoy this feeling of satisfaction; for another gang came down with Alli Manda in the middle of the night, dancing and shouting after the manner of the country, as at Essé. At this moment, Mr. Pearce declared, a sort of pre-sentiment came strongly upon him, that his life was drawing to a close; for two days he had been too unwell to be capable of much resistance, and he felt no doubt, that on this occasion, mischief was intended. As the party approached, Alli Manda called out authoritatively, "Pearce, Pearce!" while he, sitting with his blunderbuss in his hand and his pistols loaded beside him, demanded what they wanted. Again came the old story, that a powerful chief had come down, who wanted his awide or duties; that this was the last ber, and that he must give them twenty dollars. This Mr. Pearce refused, declaring he was a friend of Ishmaiel, and was engaged in the service of the Ras Selassé. "What care I about Selassé or Shum Ishmaiel," replied the chief, "I am a king myself, pay me my demand, or you shall not pass." It was in vain for Mr. Pearce to oppose this exaction, and therefore after a long dispute upon the subject, the money was sent with a present of tobacco, without which there was no possibility of satisfying the rapacity of these extortioners.

On the 27th the party again proceeded, but the villainy of Alli Manda had still another scheme to draw the last remaining dollar from his pocket. The clouds on the top of the hill portending a storm, Alli Manda insisted upon the necessity of halting; and, in spite of all Mr. Pearce's remonstrances, stopped the camels, and left them, intentionally, to take their fate in the very course of the stream. In consequence, when the "gorf," or torrent came down, which it did with a tremendous roar

from the mountains, two of these animals were swept away, before there was a possibility of removing them, the people saving themselves with difficulty by clambering up the rocks which bordered the stream. When the fury of the torrent had subsided, the party went in search of the camels, one of which was found jammed in between two rocks, and the other entangled, about a mile and a half lower down, among the boughs of a tree, and before both could be released, the evening came on, and compelled them to leave the bales, which had been cut away to extricate the camels, in the bed of the stream.

In the morning, the water having resumed its natural course, a great portion of the articles was discovered on the dry bed of the torrent, and among others the bale of velvets, though soaked completely through, was fortunately found entire; but Mr. Pearce did not dare to open it, for fear of Alli Manda and his people seeing its contents, as it was supposed merely to contain paper ornaments and pictures intended for the Ras's church. Before the party could proceed, however, it became necessary to hire another camel, one of those which had been washed down being in consequence disabled from continuing the journey; a circumstance, which, of course, required another draft on Mr. Pearce's nearly exhausted fund. Being now pretty well drained, Alli Manda permitted him to pass on without further annoyance, and, on the 30th, they reached the district of Hurtoo, commanded by Shum Ishmaiel.

Here Mr. Pearce felt himself once more in security, and therefore on the following morning about mid-day, thought it right to open the bale of velvets, for the purpose of drying them. At the sight of these articles Alli Manda and his party became almost frantic; and, as Mr. Pearce learned from his interpreter, were heard to say, that, had they been earlier acquainted with the contents, neither man nor goods should ever have passed beyond the bounds of their country. At three o'clock the velvets being repacked, the party proceeded forward to a village, belonging to Hamood, the brother of Shum Ishmaiel.

On the 31st, during their stay at this place, a relation of Alli Manda joined the party, when the latter began to

give an account of the arré, or "precious things," they had seen: on which they both went up to the goods, and without further ceremony began to open them. Mr. Pearce, who at this time was sitting with the chief of the village, being informed of the circumstance, went out with his blunderbuss, and enraged beyond all endurance, that they should carry their presumption to such a pitch, desired them peremptorily to desist; declaring that he would instantly shoot the first man who should proceed to meddle with the goods. This threat producing no impression on his opponents, who coolly went on cutting asunder the hides which bound up the velvets, Mr. Pearce instantly levelled his piece, and discharged the contents of it among them; when Alli Manda's friend being wounded fell to the ground. The noise of the gun reverberated from hill to hill, and, on so unusual a noise being heard, the natives of the village rushed out in a body, armed with spears and shields, headed by Hamood, to the spot: at the same moment Alli Manda and his party, with their wounded companion, fled in great alarm to the plains below.*

Hamood, on hearing of the affair, applauded Mr. Pearce's conduct; and, though several of the Dumhoeta came up in the course of the day, demanding that he should be given up for the blood of their relation, this chief refused paying any attention to their complaints; and on the 1st of September carried Mr. Pearce forward with a large escort to the bottom of Senafé. Three days afterwards, some of the Ras's people came down to assist him in taking the goods up Senafé, which was effected on the 5th of September, and after four days march, by way of Asmé, Aikamussal and Dofa, he reached Chelicut; having, altogether, since he left the coast, been engaged twenty-seven days in accomplishing perhaps one of the most perilous undertakings ever attempted by an individual.

On his return the Ras received him with extraordinary attention, and, when he mentioned the quantity of goods he had brought with him, the chiefs who were

* This is the circumstance referred to in Mr. Pearce's letter given in a former part of this work.

present would scarcely believe it possible. With regard to the encounter which had occurred among the Dumhoeta, the old man simply remarked, "that he wished he had killed a dozen more."

The musquets were afterwards distributed among the Ras's followers, though few of them, as I have before remarked, were fit for use; most of them having been condemned in India. The velvets Mr. Pearce parted with in pieces, and, though the sale proved slow, the profit upon them was very considerable.

At this time Mr. Pearce's courage and talents had brought him into great favour in the country, and, shortly afterwards, Ayto Manasseh presented him with the house in which I found him residing: a large plot of ground was annexed to it, that Mr. Pearce had cultivated with considerable care; so that we had the pleasure of eating cabbages and other European vegetables out of it, equally good with those produced in our own country; Captain Rudland having sent over the seeds from Mocha.

The reader, after the perusal of Mr. Pearce's adventures, will not be surprised at the satisfaction I felt in having chosen the road by Massowa for my own route; a circumstance which I consider to have been peculiarly fortunate; as I had certainly entertained no real conception of the difficulties attending the other passage, until I received, at Chelicut, the above relation of Mr. Pearce's journey through this barbarous country.

CHAPTER VIII.

Character of the Ras—Short sketch of his Life—Mode of spending our time at Chelicut—Some account of Kasimaj Yasous, and his sister Ozoro Mantwab—Recollections respecting Mr. Bruce in Abyssinia, by a learned man named Dofter Esther—General remarks respecting that traveller—Journey to the Tacazze—Some account of Chelika Negusta—Antálo—Cali—Agora—Character of Guebra Mehedin—Province of Avergale—Description of the Agows—Views of the mountains of Samen—Wild plains abounding in game—River Arequa—Change of climate and scenery as the party continues to descend—Arrival at the Tacazze—Shooting of the hippopotamus—Extraordinary dread of the Crocodile entertained by the Abyssinians—Return to Chelicut—Visit from the Ras—Conference held with him—Removal to Antálo—Abyssinian horsemanship—Conclusion of Lent—Feast on the following day—Amusements of the Abyssinians—Short account of the Shangalla—Parting from the Ras, on our return to Chelicut.

FROM the preceding narrative of affairs it will appear, that, on my former journey * I had entertained an erroneous opinion respecting the character of the Ras; as, at that time, I conceived that he owed his elevation more "to his cunning than to his strength of character." In this I was undoubtedly mistaken; since he is distinguished still more for his intrepidity and firmness than by the policy with which he has uniformly ruled the country under his command; having been successfully engaged in upwards of forty battles, and having evinced on these occasions even too great a disregard of his own personal safety in action.

At the time of Mr. Bruce's arrival in the country, in 1770, Ras Welled Selassé was a young man of some consequence about the court;† so that, considering him at that time to have been three or four and twenty, his age must, at the period of my last visit to the country, have amounted to about sixty-four; a point somewhat difficult of proof from the extreme delicacy which existed of making any inquiries of this description among his followers. The first situation he held of any import-

* Vide Vol. III. of Lord Valentia's Travels, p. 155.
† Vide Mr. Bruce's Travels, Vol. IV. p. 430.

ance, and which undoubtedly led to his greatness, was that of Balgudda, or protector of the salt caravans, which come up from the plains of Assa Durwa; an office always conferring considerable consequence on its possessor, owing to his being entitled to a duty on every load of salt imported into the country, and from the power which it gives him of withholding this very necessary article of consumption as well as of barter, from the interior provinces. This situation he received during the short government of his father, Kefla Yasous, over the province of Tigré. On the return of Ras Michael * to the command, he fled to the fastnesses bordering on the salt-plain, where he remained, carrying on a predatory warfare, until the death of "the old lion," as the former is emphatically styled in the country.

During this period, while Ras Michael was seeking his life, he challenged any two chiefs in the army opposed to him to fight on horseback; and, two men of distinguished bravery having been made choice of for the purpose, he went down into the plain to meet them, and killed both with his own hand; possessing, notwithstanding his small and delicate form, such peculiar skill in the

* The following anecdotes respecting this extraordinary man may prove acceptable to every reader, who admires the very ably drawn character given of him by Mr. Bruce. "On one occasion, when playing at chess, he hastily made out an order for five thousand dollars to be given to a chief, for some service he had performed, instead of five hundred, which was the usual allowance: and, on the circumstance being mentioned to him by his steward, he turned round quickly and answered, 'I have said it,—let it be so,—the angel Michael hath sent it to him.'" "A chief of some note having confessed to a priest that he had committed a murder; the latter, in hopes of receiving a reward, disclosed it to the relations, and, in consequence, the former was seized and taken before Ras Michael. What is the evidence? said the Ras. The priest stepped forward, and declared that he had repeatedly confessed the fact to him. Ras Michael, without hesitation, gave the order, 'take him to his death.' The relations immediately laid hold of the chief, and were in the act of forcing him away, when the old man, with one of his terrible looks, cried out, 'not that man, but the priest, who has dared to reveal the secrets disclosed to him in confession,' and he was instantly led out to execution." Ras Michael had so poor an opinion of what the priests could do for a man in his last moments, that he said, when on his death bed, "Let not a priest come near me: if a man cannot make up his own account, how shall weak men like these do it for him?"

management of two spears on horseback, that it was said in the country to be unequalled. This unexampled exploit raised his character as a warrior to the highest pitch; and the particulars of the combat still continue to form a favorite topic of conversation among his followers.

On the succession of Degusmati Gabriel to the command of the province of Tigré, Welled Selassé was induced by many insidious promises held out to him, to return to Adowa, where, in spite of the most solemn protestations to the contrary, he was thrown into irons. The day on which this occurrence took place, he has since, with a sort of religious superstition considered as the most unfortunate in his life. He did not, however, long remain in confinement; for, by the connivance of his keeper, Gueta Samuel, he shortly after made his escape and retired to the country of the Galla, who on this occasion received him with open arms.

The death of Dejus* Gabriel soon followed, when he returned once again to Enderta, and being joined by some of his friends, made himself master of that province, and in the following year entered Tigré; where, having in several battles overcome Guebra Mascal, he raised himself to the high situation of Governor of all the provinces eastward of the Tacazze. Once possessed of this high power, he successively espoused the claims of Ayto Solomon, the son of Tecla Haimanot and of Tecla Georgis, his brother, whom, in spite of the combined forces of the chiefs of Amhara, he carried to Gondar and placed on the throne; being in return confirmed, by both these Emperors in the high posts of Ras and Betwudet of the empire, which last office appears to be somewhat analogous to that which Pharoah conferred upon Joseph, when he set him "over his house."

These respective monarchs, however, not being long able to retain the sovereignty (as I have related more particularly in my former journal,) the crown fell, according to the preponderance of the different provinces, into other hands, until it was at length agreed by Ras Welled Selassé and Guxo, Governor of Gojam, (who succeeded to the power of Fasil) that Ayto Egwala Sion,

* The common abbreviation of Degusmati used in conversation.

son of Ischias, should be placed on the throne. Some religious disputes having subsequently arisen between these powerful chieftains, it had occasioned a rupture, which, since my return, has again thrown the country into a civil war; the Emperor, in the mean time, remaining neglected at Gondar, with a very small retinue of servants, and an income by no means adequate to the support of his dignity; so that, as he possesses neither wealth, power, nor influence in the state; royalty may be considered, for a time, almost eclipsed in the country.

The duties of the Ras's situation, who may be regarded as an independent ruler, are extremely arduous, some notion of which may be formed by a reference to the map, where the extent of the country under what may be called "his personal jurisdiction," is marked out. Throughout this extensive district, all crimes, differences, and disputes, of however important or trifling a nature, are ultimately referred to his determination, all rights of inheritage are decided according to his will, and most wars are carried on by himself in person. To rule a savage people of so many different dispositions, manners, and usages as the Abyssinians, requires a firmness of mind, and a vigour of constitution, rarely united in the same individual at his advanced age; yet, whenever I have seen him in the exercise of his power, he has shewn a vivacity of expression, a quickness of comprehension, and a sort of commanding energy, that overawed all who approached him. During his continuance in power, he has made it his uniform practice to treat the different attempts at rebellion with perfect indifference; so that when those concerned in such conspiracies have, in their own imagination, brought affairs to a crisis, he has constantly expressed contempt, rather than alarm at their machinations.

After a second attempt against his life by the same persons, he has been repeatedly known to pardon, and even to permit the parties convicted to attend about his court, priding himself particularly on having never been guilty of the cruelties of Ras Michael, and being led with reluctance to the condemnation of a common culprit; while no possible provocation can induce him "to cut off a limb, put out the eyes," or commit any other of

the atrocious acts which stained the character of that extraordinary leader. His common mode of punishing those who conspire against him, is, by taking away their districts; for, as I have heard him often declare, "men are only saucy when their stomachs are full;" a saying peculiarly applicable to the Abyssinians, who, when ruled with a hand of power, make admirable subjects; but when left to their own wills, become intolerably presumptuous and overbearing.

During the three weeks that we stayed at Chelicut, I generally spent a great part of each day with the Ras, being allowed free access to his presence, through a private door communicating between the gardens of our respective habitations. On these occasions I generally found him engaged in the administration of justice, or in receiving chieftains and ladies of consequence, who came from distant parts of the country to pay their duty; and when otherwise unemployed, invariably occupied in playing at chess, a game to which he appeared greatly devoted. I understood, indeed, that no surer method could be practised for attaining his favour, than that of acquiring a knowledge of this game, and when playing with him, ingeniously to contrive that he should never be the loser. Ayto Debib, who stood high in his favour, was particularly well skilled in this game. In addition, he had acquired, by playing with Mr. Pearce, a perfect knowledge of the game of drafts.

During this time our party received daily invitations to the Ras's evening repasts, and at such times, in the presence of his chiefs, he always paid us distinguished attention, constantly exhibiting, to their no small admiration, the pistols, spear, knife, and other presents which he had received from England; and the conversation generally turning on subjects in which we were principally concerned. At these meetings, a more than ordinary attention to decorum appeared to be kept up, and a much less quantity of maiz, than usual, was drank, owing to the continuance of Lent, a fast which is here observed, agreeably to the practice of some of the primitive Christians, for fifty-two days. Though every kind of flesh was excluded during this period, yet the table was plentifully served with wheaten bread, fish, dressed in dif-

ferent modes, and other warm dishes, made of various grains, mixed up with an immoderate quantity of garlic, which, nevertheless, the guests seemed to devour with a keen and ravenous appetite. This last circumstance could not excite much astonishment, when it was considered that this unconscionably long fast had already lasted upwards of a month, and that the Abyssinians, during its continuance, never touch a morsel of food till after sunset, so that many of the stoutest, at this time, began to look pallid, and to express an anxious desire for its conclusion.

I have before omitted to mention, that at the commencement of Lent, the priest Guebra Mariam, who attended us from Massowa, had proved of great service, owing to his having kindly absolved the whole of our party from the necessity of keeping it, a privilege which it appears the priests of the country are entitled to grant to all persons engaged in travelling, or similar pursuits. Some little difficulty had been experienced in persuading Ayto Debib to accept this indulgence; but, after seeing us eat meat for a few days, his inclination got the better of his scruples; though I subsequently observed, that he was rather ashamed of having complied with our solicitations, when any person of rank spoke to him on the subject; and I believe that the circumstance was carefully concealed from the knowledge of the Ras.

Several of the principal chieftains in the country at this time visited me, particularly Palambarus Toclu, Ayto Guebra Amlac, and Shum Michael, of Temben, which latter appeared likely to possess great weight in the country, in the event of any accident occurring to the Ras. As all these chiefs had sent me presents of cattle on my arrival, I felt it necessary to bestow upon them some trifling gifts in return, with which they seemed highly gratified. The Prince, Kasimaj Yasous, was also constant in his visits, whom I found to be very superior in accomplishments to most of the young men in the country, as he both read and wrote the Geez with unusual facility. The young men attending him, who were all natives of Gondar, appeared likewise to be more careful in their dress, and more polished in their manners, than the inhabitants of Tigré; and indeed I have

reason to believe, that, in general, the latter are much ruder in their habits, and fiercer in disposition than the people of Amhara.

The Ras's wife, Ozoro Mantwab, whom I have before mentioned as the sister of the Emperor, did not, on any occasion, make her appearance in public; but she frequently sent us complimentary messages and presents of bread and maiz, besides various dishes, drest in a superior style of cookery, from her own table. I was given to understand by Mr. Pearce, as well as his wife, who was a great favourite of this lady, that she made frequent enquiries respecting the English, and often expressed a great desire to converse with me: but the extreme jealousy entertained by the Ras on these points, rendered such a meeting impracticable. She afterwards, however, ingeniously contrived to afford me an opportunity of seeing her person, on my return one day from visiting the Ras, who was then busily engaged with some of his chiefs: her form, though small, was very elegant, her features were regular, and having fine teeth and coal-black hair, she might, in any country, have been esteemed handsome.*

The jealousy which the Ras entertains with regard to his wives, and his strict notions, in general, respecting women, are circumstances so uncommon in this country, that it is difficult to account for their origin; unless they may be supposed to have been imbibed from his having, in early life, been thrown into the society of Mahomedans; yet, as he retains a very decided abhorrence of their doctrines, it is singular enough that he should have adopted this most objectionable part of their system. It has, however, produced the effect of correcting, in a certain degree, the general laxity of manners in the more immediate neighbourhood of the court; but, his strictness in these respects appeared to be so strongly disapproved of, at least by the younger part of the community, that I do not think it is likely in the end, either materially to affect the privileges of the ladies, or to produce any great alteration in the character of their admirers.

* Both this lady and her brother, Kasimaj Yasous, have since my return fallen victims to the small-pox.

Among the persons who visited me most frequently at this time, was a learned man, looked up to with much respect by the country, called Dofter Esther,* who not only understood the Geez language, and possessed some knowledge of the Arabic, but, by the assistance of Mr. Pearce, had made himself acquainted with the Roman characters. He besides evinced, on all occasions, an uncommon desire for gaining information respecting the English, and in return, seemed to take great pleasure in answering my enquiries. During the whole time that Mr. Bruce remained in the country, Dofter Esther resided at Gondar, engaged in the pursuit of his studies, being intimately acquainted with the former, whom he was in the habit of visiting every three or four days. As he appeared to speak in very friendly terms respecting that traveller, and to possess a more perfect recollection of the events which occurred at that time, than any other of the natives I conversed with, I shall in this place introduce the information I received from him on these subjects; which, in reality, contains a fair abstract of what is recollected in Abyssinia respecting Mr. Bruce.

When Mr. Bruce first arrived in the country, Ras Michael, who was in possession of full power, was absent from Gondar; but on receiving intelligence of Mr. Bruce's arrival, he sent for Sidee Petros, and Paulus, two Greeks, who gave so favourable an account of him and "of his religion," which they affirmed "was the same with their own," that the Ras was induced to treat him with great attention. He also gained at the same time great reputation from curing one of Ras Michael's children, and Ayto Confu, who were then ill of the small-pox. Ayto Aylo, an elderly man, who uniformly shewed himself the friend of all white men, became his patron. The Iteghe also took him under her protection, and Ozoro Esther became much attached to him. Dofter Esther had heard of a quarrel which had occurred in the king's house, between Mr. Bruce and Guebra Maseal,

* Dofter, or Doughter, in the Abyssinian, seems to be the same word as our doctor, signifying a person who has dedicated his time to learned pursuits. These men wear the habits of priests, but do not bind themselves by any vows. I am not aware by what means the word can have crept into the language.

but he did not know the occasion of it, as it was privately made up. He declared, that Mr. Bruce did not speak the Tigré language, nor much of the Amharic; that he could read the characters in the books of the country on his first arrival, but did not possess any great knowledge of the Geez, though in this respect, as well as with regard to the Amharic, he considerably improved himself during his stay in the country. An interpreter accompanied him, of the name of Michael, through whom he generally conversed, always indeed, when he (Dofter Esther) had been present; but he understood, that he occasionally spoke Arabic with the Mahomedans.

After remaining some time at Gondar, having gained the Emperor's permission, he went, under the protection of Fasil, to visit the sources of the Abaio or Nile, accompanied by a young man, (Balugani) who attended him in his travels. In the first attempt they failed, and were plundered; but in the second they succeeded, and returned back safely to Gondar. When the Acab Saat, Abba Salama, was hung for treason, Dofter Esther was present at his execution, and he affirmed that every body thought Ras Michael right in condemning him. Balugani died some time afterwards.

He described Mr. Bruce as a noble-looking man, and mentioned, that he was greatly noticed by the king, being one of the "baalomaals," or "favourites" about the court, like Mr. Pearce at Chelicut: he also rode remarkably well, on a black horse of his own, and the king sometimes lent him one of his stud. The king had several horses called "koccob," or "star;" one was called "koccob turinge," or "star of a citron colour;" another "koccob bulla," or "bay star," and a third "koccob ammar," or "red star," all of which were kept for his own riding; but he had not at any time a body guard of horse so called. There was a corps of black horse from Sennaar, the riders of which were drest in armour; but these were commanded by Idris, a Musselmaun, and not by Mr. Bruce, the latter having never been actually engaged in war, though he was present during one battle.*

* This circumstance is corroborated by the original memoranda of Mr. Bruce, page 69, Vol. VII. last edition, where no mention of his being concerned in these battles is found; but on the 24th of

Ras Michael was attached to him, but seldom gave him any thing. He resided partly at Koscam, and occasionally at a house near Kedus Raphael, given him by the Emperor, to which latter he seemed much attached, and he often visited the Abuna. No "shummut," or "district" was ever given him: though he was said to have frequently asked for the government of Ras el Feel; which was at one time held by Netcho, and subsequently by Ayto Confu. After Ras Michael's disgrace, Mr. Bruce returned home by way of Sennaar.

Dofter Esther likewise assured me, that Amha Yasous, Prince of Shoa, never visited Gondar during the period of Mr. Bruce's stay;* messengers sometimes were sent from Shoa and Efat, with presents of horses to the Emperor, in the same way as is now practised towards the Ras; but all further connexion had for a long time been broken off between these provinces and Gondar. The account of the Galla chief, Guanguol, he also said was strangely misrepresented: he recollected his visit to

March, an observation is made, that "I got leave from the king to see this battle," which is supposed to be the second battle of Serbraxos; there being various mistakes in the whole of the dates from May, 1770, till December, 1771, in Mr. Bruce's work, (Vide Mr. Murray's observations, p. 73, Vol. VII.) who adds, "no cause can "be assigned for that confusion, except the extreme indolence with "which Mr. Bruce composed his work, about sixteen years after "the events which are the subjects of it. It could answer no pur-"pose of vanity or interest, to place the fall of Michael in May, "rather than in March. *But in the latter part of his days he seems "to have viewed the numerous adventures of his active life as in a "dream, not in their natural state as to time and place, but under "the pleasing and arbitrary change of memory melting into imagi-"nation.*"

* These observations of Dofter Esther are strongly confirmed by the fact, that no account of the visit of Amha Yasous is to be found in Mr. Bruce's original memoranda, (vide appendix, Vol. VII.) and the story of the book, said to have been received from Debra Libanos, by means of this prince, is very suspicious; as he is mentioned to have only arrived at Gondar early in February; and yet, by the 17th of the same month, a messenger is sent to and from Debra Libanos, who brings the book back with him, which, making altogether a distance of nearly five hundred miles, seems to render the whole story incredible, especially as the priests were not likely to have sent the original; and to have had it copied in so short a time was impossible.

Gondar, but he was then very appropriately dressed, like those Galla (he remarked,) whom I had seen on a visit to Ras Welled Selassé. On my enquiring respecting the story of the Worari, he said he had heard of the practice, and believed it to be true; but with regard to the living feast described by Mr. Bruce, he declared that he had never witnessed any such cruel practice, and expressed great abhorrence at the thought. He admitted the licentiousness of the higher orders to be carried to much greater lengths in Amhara than in Tigré; but that the scene narrated by Mr. Bruce was certainly greatly exaggerated, a proof of which he drew from his mention "of the company drinking the health of the party," a custom absolutely unknown throughout Abyssinia; Kefla Yasous, he added, and many other persons of rank in the country, were greatly attached to Mr. Bruce; and when he quitted Abyssinia, Dofter Esther said, that he left behind him "a great name."

I subsequently received accounts from many different quarters, which all tended in the strongest manner to corroborate the statements of Dofter Esther: he may have been mistaken upon some few immaterial points of his narrative; but upon the whole I have reason to think it extremely correct. In this account it is to be observed, that the most material points (besides those noticed in a former part of this work) which affect Mr. Bruce's veracity, are those, of his never having received any district or command; his not having been engaged in the battles of Serbraxos—the overthrow of his pretensions to an almost intuitive knowledge of the languages of the country—his mis-statements respecting Guanguol, Amha Yasous, and the living feast, and the unpardonable concealment of the fact, that Balugani attended him on his journey to the sources of the Nile. Many of these points, however inconsistent in themselves, or however strongly they may be contradicted by the evidence which I have collected, are of such a nature, that they do not admit of any positive proof by which they may be actually set aside; but the confutation of the latter circumstance, resting upon data accessible to every one in possession of Mr. Bruce's work, is more particularly worthy of notice, as it appears to me, that there was something of cru-

elty so perfectly inexcusable in his whole conduct towards this young man, who very materially assisted him in his researches, that it can admit of no apology.*

In March, 1770, (vide Vol. IV. p. 430-1,) Mr. Bruce remarks, "I more than twenty times resolved to return by Tigré, to which I was the more inclined by the loss of a young man (Balugani) who accompanied me, when a dysentery, which had attacked him in Arabia Felix, put an end to his life at Gondar. A considerable disturbance was apprehended from burying him in a churchyard: Abba Salama used his utmost endeavours to raise the populace and take him out of his grave; but some exertions of the Ras quieted both Abba Salama and the tumult." These events, told with such apparently minute and circumstantial fidelity, are by the evidence of Mr. Bruce's own papers completely disproved; for it appears, that Signor Balugani did not die at the period stated; but that he lived to accompany Mr. Bruce up to the sources of the Nile, and was alive on the 14th of February, 1771.

The proofs of this are as follows: first, that a regular journal of transactions, in the Italian language, kept by Signor Balugani, was found among Mr. Bruce's papers, copious extracts from which are given in the last edition;† secondly, that a letter in Italian, in Sig. Balugani's hand writing, was found among Mr. Bruce's papers, written by him after their return to Gondar, addressed to an Italian nobleman;‡ and thirdly, that there is an entry in the weather-journal, in Sig. Balugani's hand writing, so late as February 14, 1771;§ whence Mr. Murray, editor of the last edition of Mr. Bruce's work, infers, "that he died a few days afterwards."‖

This very extraordinary anachronism respecting Signor Balugani's death, might, possibly, be thought to pro-

* Mr. Bruce mentions Sig. Balugani only three times in his work: the first is in the preface, where he slightly notices his being engaged; the second is in Vol. IV. p. 431, where he antedates his death, and the third is in Vol. VII. p. 248, where he makes some additional remarks respecting him, and again mentions his death.

† Vide Vol. V. p. 438.

‡ Vide Vol. I. p. ccciii.

§ Vide Vol. VI. p. 51.

‖ Vide Vol. VII. p. 50.

ceed "from inattention or forgetfulness," as observed by Mr. Murray, (page cccvi, Vol. I.,) were it not for the additional and decisive contradiction which the following circumstance exhibits, that "Abba Salama," who is represented as having "attempted to raise the populace at the funeral of Signor Balugani," was executed for high treason, according to Mr. Bruce's own testimony, on the 24th of December, 1770,* two months before Balugani's actual death: so that he could not by any possibility have been guilty of the outrage laid to his charge, and, in consequence, Ras Michael could never have interfered. The dilemma, therefore, to which these facts reduce the question in agitation, stands as follows; that, if the relation of this occurrence be correct as to time, then *all Balugani's journal, letter, and observations in the weather-journal must be forged*, since they all relate to circumstances which took place subsequently to the given period of his death; or, if these be true, and the contradiction proceed from an error in time, then *the whole story respecting Abba Salama's exciting a tumult among the populace, and Ras Michael's interference must be false*, since, in that case, Abba Salama must have been dead previously to Signor Balugani, and therefore neither he nor the Ras could have had any thing to do with the transaction.

Besides, if it could *possibly* be supposed, that from "inattention," or any other cause, Mr. Bruce could have forgotten altogether, on his return, the fact of Signor Balugani's having attended him during his whole excursion to the Nile, (a circumstance which appears to me absolutely incredible in itself) yet can it be believed for a moment, that he should not have been reminded of the fact by the frequent sight of the Italian manuscript journal, &c. written by Balugani, which is full of his own personal observations, and from which we know that Mr. Bruce, in writing his work, continually made extracts? Surely such a total loss of all the common faculties of memory is scarcely possible. But it may, perhaps, be asked, what motives Mr. Bruce could have had for such

* This date is fixed both from the printed work and the original memoranda, which in this circumstance perfectly agree.

wilful deviations from the truth? The answer is plain: that he was impelled to it by an anxious and vehement desire of obtaining the sole credit of having first visited the sources of the Nile, and an aversion from his being known to have had any partner in his researches on this occasion; motives which however unworthy of an enlightened mind, are known to have operated so strongly on our author's feelings, that he has made them the ruling features in his work, as the very title, "Journey to discover the sources of the Nile," his romantic exultation on that particular point in his preface, and his continual misrepresentations respecting Lobo and Peter Paiz, for having preceded him in this hazardous enterprise, sufficiently prove.

Before I quit this subject, I shall notice one additional instance of decided contradiction that occurs between the printed narrative and the original notes published by his late editors, which may serve to give the reader a pretty correct notion of the manner in which this author wrought up and embellished his original observations: in accomplishing which he has evinced a power of interesting the feelings that is almost unexampled. The circumstance to which I refer is Mr. Bruce's account of the discovery of King Joas's body and the events to which it gave rise.* In the printed narrative Mr. Bruce relates, that "about the 10th of August, Zor Woldo, a Galla, was taken up, who confessed himself to have been concerned in the murder of the Emperor Joas, and that he pointed out the place in the church-yard of St. Raphael, where he had been buried with his clothes on: that Zor Woldo was carried to execution; that the body of Joas was raised, and exposed in a very indecent manner in the church; that on the following day he went to the church, and gave the monk a Persian carpet to lay it on, and a web of coarse muslin to cover it; and that it continued lying in the church till October, when, owing to a threat from Ras Michael, it was privately interred." After this Mr. Bruce relates in an affecting way the credit he gained throughout the country for the humane part he had acted, and that Ozoro Esther one day placed him

* Vide Vol. V. p. 164, et seq. and Vol. VI. p. 64, &c.

in "one of the most honourable seats, saying 'sit down, Yayoubé: God has exalted you above all in this country when he has put it in your power, though but a stranger, to confer charity upon the king of it.'"

This story in itself contains several points that render it extremely suspicious; the most material of which are the disgraceful exposure of the body, a circumstance which the extreme delicacy of the Abyssinians respecting the dead would scarcely have permitted them to allow; and the length of time (two months) which the body is said to have been kept in the church, notwithstanding that it had before lain *upwards of seventeen months in the ground without any kind of covering to keep it from putrefaction.* These doubts are more than confirmed by the simple statement of the transaction met with in the original memoranda; from which it appears, that when the murderer pointed out the spot where the body lay, "it was found to be shallowly covered with earth;" that "the arm was the first part that presented itself, on which was a kind of cartouche the Abesh wear on their arm to guard them from evil; *by this it was known that it was the king, and the body covered, and a tent placed over it to be raised up on the Pascha day, Tuesday 21st;*" and, again, in another place, that "*at the church-yard they only uncovered the arm, and saw the blood-stained cartouche;*" and not a word is here mentioned of the exposure of the body, the carpet, or the muslin. Can any thing be more different than these two accounts? The latter too is infinitely more consistent than the former narrative; for it there appears that the Abyssinians, as they would naturally have felt, were shocked at the first circumstance which identified the body, and carefully covered it over, and abstained from disturbing it, as it already had been placed in consecrated ground. The whole chain of additional remarks, therefore, connected with the exposure of the body, and the humanity said to have been displayed on the occasion, may be considered merely as poetical embellishments.

I here beg leave to observe, that the reader who wishes to form a just estimate of the merits and faults of Mr. Bruce should carefully compare the information given in the late appendices with the original publication, and, af-

ter perusing both with attention, he will find that I have selected only a small portion of the contradictions subsisting between them; as I have been anxious to enter only so far into the question, as might tend to justify the observations I felt myself compelled to make respecting this traveller; for, had I altogether evaded the question, I might, with some justice, have been supposed to have compromised my own opinions from the dread of his numerous advocates, or from a culpable desire of sheltering myself under his acquired reputation. I am perfectly aware how much Mr. Bruce has accomplished; and no man can more truly admire his courage, his perseverance, his sagacity, or his genius than myself; and I confess that, from the pleasure I still take in reading his work, I shall never cease to regret that any weakness of character, or unfortunate vanity, should have induced him in a single instance to have swerved from the plain and manly path of sincerity and truth which lay before him: since the ground which he occupied was far too elevated for him to stand in need of any such unworthy and adventitious aid.

During the latter part of March, we experienced at Chelicut very moderate weather, and for some days a heavy fall of rain. As such an occurrence, at this season of the year, was very unusual, though extremely beneficial to the country, those very Abyssinians, whose opinions had been most against us before our arrival, now attributed the unexpected blessing to our influence. The thermometer during this time kept pretty steadily at 70.

As the continuance of Lent rendered our stay at Chelicut not particularly agreeable, I was induced to gain the Ras's permission to make a tour to the Tacazze; thinking, that by crossing this line of the provinces, I might materially improve the geography of the country, and ascertain some other points of considerable importance relative to its general history. With such views, on the 5th of April I left Chelicut, accompanied by Mr. Pearce, Mr. Coffin, Ayto Debib, and a young chief named Chelika Negusta, holding a district in the part of the country through which our road lay, and whom the Ras had appointed to attend us with an escort. I had a short time before been made acquainted with some circumstances

relating to the life of this young man, which are so characteristic of the manners of the country, that I shall here mention them by way of introducing him to the knowledge of the reader.

Chelika Negusta had early in life inherited the possession of a small district in the neighbourhood of the Tacazze, on the borders of which resided a more powerful chief, who, taking advantage of the superior number of his troops, was continually in the habit of plundering the domains of his neighbour. Chelika Negusta, then a young man of only nineteen years of age, was of too proud a disposition to let such outrages pass with impunity; and, therefore, took occasion, the first time he met his opponent, personally to affront him, and, with more courage than prudence, challenged him to single combat. The elder chief, who had before been distinguished in battle, accepted the challenge, expressing, at the same time, great contempt for his antagonist; but in the contest which ensued, "as the battle is not always to the strong," he fell a just victim to his own misconduct, being killed in the first onset by the very person whom he had affected to despise.

In consequence of this act, Chelika Negusta was soon afterwards laid hold of by the more powerful relations of the deceased, and carried before the Ras. Whatever might have been the inclinations of the latter, as complete proof was adduced of the fact, he was compelled by the custom of the country (which on this point is absolute) to condemn the young warrior to death; and, according to the established rule, which is borrowed from the laws of the Mosaic institution, he was given up to the relations of the deceased, "to do with him as they pleased." The course commonly followed on these occasions is, to take the offender to the market-place, and there, in the face of the public, to dispatch him, with knives and spears: every relation and friend of the deceased making it a point of duty to strike a blow at the criminal. The young man was conducted towards the market-place, and so much violence was expressed by the relations that his fate seemed inevitable. Fortunately for Chelika Negusta, he was a particularly handsome man; which circumstance, together with the intrepidity

he had displayed throughout the trial, interested all the Ozoros belonging to the court, and through their intercession, a deputation of priests was immediately sent to plead in his behalf; every lady offering to contribute her share towards commuting the punishment. The relations, however, appeared inexorable, and he was led in awful silence to the place of execution, where their spears were raised in readiness to strike the final blow, but the priests again interfering, and threatening the anger of the church if they persisted, the fear of excommunication fortunately produced its due effect, and after a long debate it was finally agreed that he should receive a pardon, though no less a sum than three hundred wakeas of gold were paid down on this occasion as the price of the blood that had been shed. Subsequently to this event, Chelika Negusta had risen highly in the general esteem, and the confidence placed in him by the Ras, in confiding us to his protection, was a sufficient testimony of his good opinion.

After leaving the vale of Chelicut, which forms one of the most delightful spots in Abyssinia, we passed two streams, running eastward, (Mai Afguol, and Mai Gulwa,) and proceeded forwards up a gradual ascent, until we reached Antálo, the capital of Enderta, which stands on the side of a mountain, commanding an extensive prospect towards the south. About twenty miles from Antálo lies the strong-hold of El Hadje, in which the state prisoners are confined; and in the same direction may be distinguished, on a clear day, the high mountains of Salowa and Bora. Here we perceived a sensible change in the atmosphere, and the thermometer at mid-day was 65°.

On the following day we left Antálo, at half past seven o'clock; and having passed through a rich and highly cultivated part of Enderta, which seemed to be well supplied with water, entered the district of Wazza. We afterwards descended two steep precipices, which brought us, in the evening, to a rude and picturesque village, called Cali, situated in a nook of the mountains, in the district of Saharti.

On the 7th we left Cali, and traversed a wild and uncultivated tract of land, abounding with game of every

description. The general character of this country reminded me strongly of the scenes which I had often admired in the interior of the Cape, where a broad expanse of dark brushwood surrounds the traveller, beyond which, the tops of distant mountains are seen to rise, of a transparent purple hue, conveying the idea of an immeasurable chasm existing between them and the country over which you are passing. It was in this manner, for the first time, that we beheld the mountains of Samen, rearing their lofty summits majestically in the distant horizon. The weather now becoming intensely warm, the thermometer having risen to 80°, we stopped during the heat of the day, by the side of a stream, to refresh ourselves, near a village called Shela, where, in the course of my search after rare plants, I discovered some water cresses, which I pointed out with peculiar pleasure to Mr. Pearce, from his having long been seeking for them in vain. The Abyssinians attending us, were also much gratified by the discovery of a tree found only in this part of the country, from the bark of which they are accustomed to form matches for their fire-arms. The inner rind is the part used for this purpose, which, after being thoroughly bruised on a large stone, is twisted round a stick, and carefully dried in the sun, and this, without further preparation, makes an admirable match. The tree is a species of narrow-leaved ficus, and is called by the natives Chekumt. During its stay on this spot, the party shot no less than six brace of guinea-fowl and partridges, both of which were found in large coveys, consisting of fifty or sixty birds, and they were occasionally seen to rest on the tops of trees.

In the afternoon we entered upon a more cultivated country, where the province of Avergale commences, inhabited by the Agows: and in the course of the evening we arrived at a town called Agora, at which place a duty is collected on all salt carried into the interior. Here we took up our residence for the night, at the house of an old servant of the Ras, named Guebra Mehedin, who had come out to meet us, and at this time held command of the district. This chief was distinguished throughout the country, from his having, about two years before, killed a lion in single combat, with no other weapon than

those ordinarily used by the Abyssinians; an instance of intrepidity that I can very well believe him to have shewn, from the little that I saw of his general character. His features were completely Roman: and there was a manliness in his walk, an openness in his manner, and a contempt of all artifice displayed in his conduct, strongly indicative of a brave man. Even the very horse on which he rode, seemed to partake, in a certain degree, of the same spirit which animated his master, and would not, as I understood, let any one else mount upon his back.

At the house of this chief we spent one of the most agreeable days I ever recollect passing, in a company not indeed the most polished, but where so much genuine character, native worth, and real independence were displayed, that it made ample amends for the absence of more refined conversation and manners. Towards evening, the view of the mountains of Samen became exceedingly magnificent, and I sat for a long time watching the gradual descent of the sun behind the stupendous forms which these grand masses exhibited, feeling a melancholy sensation of awe stealing over my mind, that I shall not venture to describe; though in this place I cannot help observing, that, if ever I for a moment felt, that the frailty of human nature stood excused in offering up its adoration to this glorious luminary, it was when I witnessed its setting behind the mountains of Samen.

On the 8th of April we left Agora, at an early hour, and proceeded westward, about three miles, when, having arrived in one of the most picturesque scenes that can be imagined, among some rude rocks, rising by the side of the river Arequa, we left our mules in a place of security, and gave up the morning to the pursuit of the various species of game which abounded in the neighbourhood, consisting of Guinea-fowl, partridges, and deer of various kinds, of which we killed more than sufficient to supply the whole party with food for the day. The river Arequa appears, from the width of its bed, and the body of water which occasionally comes down in the rainy season, to be larger than any other existing between the coast and the Tacazze. It is said to rise at a place called Assa, about ten miles only from Antálo, whence it runs nearly in a north-west direction, through the pro-

vince of Avergale, until it joins the former river in the district of Temben, so that it probably collects in its course the various small streams which water the fertile province of Enderta. This river should appear to answer, better than any other, to the Coror, in Mr. Bruce's map; but as we know that the latter is put down from a single mention only of such a stream in Alvarez, it must, had it existed, have taken its origin, as I have before observed, further to the eastward, the track of the Portuguese in 1620 having certainly lain in that direction. This morning the atmosphere proving extremely clear, we could, for the first time, plainly distinguish the snow, (called by the Abyssinians Berrit,) on the top of Béyeda and Amba Hai, the two loftiest summits of the mountains of Samen. Mr. Bruce having passed over only a lower ridge, called Lamalmon, did not believe the fact of snow having ever been seen on these mountains,* though it is noticed in the very earliest account of the country, in the Adulic inscription given by Cosmas, (Καὶ Σεμαναι ἔθνος πέραν τȣ Νείλȣ (the Tacazze,) ἐν δύσβατοις καὶ χιονόδεσιν ὀρεσιν οἰκȣντας, ἐν οἷς διαπαντὸς νιφετοὶ καὶ κρύη καὶ χιόνες βαθύτατοι, ὡς μέχρι γονάτων καταδύειν ἄνδρα, τὸν ποταμὸν διαβὰς ὑπέταξα,) and subsequently by several of the best informed men among the Jesuits who travelled in Abyssinia.

In the afternoon we proceeded forwards to Werketarvé, a small town situated on a hill, inhabited by the Agows. To a stranger there appears to exist a slight difference only between this people and the Abyssinians, except that the Agows are, perhaps, on the whole, a stouter race of men, and, in general, not so active in their habits: their language is, nevertheless, perfectly distinct, and appeared to my ear to sound much softer and less energetic than that of Tigré, bearing a strong resemblance, when indistinctly pronounced, to some of our

* Vide Vol. III. p. 313. From the following expression made use of by Mr. Bruce, in another part of his work, it appears, that he did not believe in the possibility of so light a substance lying on the top of a mountain under the tropics. "It is said, that snow has been seen to lie on the mountains of Caffa, &c.; but this I do not believe. Hail has probably been seen to lie there, but I doubt much whether this can be said of a substance of so loose a texture as snow." Vide Mr. Bruce's Travels, Vol. III. p. 329.

own country dialects. This people is distinguished by the name of the Tchertz, or Tacazze Agows, and the country they inhabit extends from Lasta to the borders of Shiré. According to tradition, the Agows were once worshippers of the Nile, but so late as in the seventeenth century they were converted to the Christian religion, and are now more particular in their attention to its duties, than most of the other natives of Abyssinia. Like the people of Dixan, they are very regular in their morning's devotion; for which purpose, the inhabitants of each village assemble before the door of their respective chiefs, at the earliest dawn, and recite their prayers in a kind of rude chorus together. A very high opinion is entertained by the Agows of their former consequence, and they declare, that they were never conquered, except by the inhabitants of Tigré. A vocabulary of their language will be found, among others, in the Appendix, (Vide No. I.)

The view from the hill on which this town was built, was, if possible, superior to that even of the preceding evening: and, in consequence, I was tempted to make a drawing of it; but I fear it will convey a very inadequate idea of the height of these stupendous mountains. The thermometer, during the whole of this day, never fell below 80°, and at mid-day it was 85° in the shade.

On the 9th we left Werketarvé, and after travelling a few miles westward, turned off more to the south, in order to avoid a range of very rugged hills that interrupts the direct road, which brought us, in about two hours, to Serarwa. At this place the nature of the country began to change, and instead of rich pastures, affording nourishment to numerous droves of cattle, which we had continually met with in the course of our journey for the last three or four days, we now descended into a sandy and barren district, thickly set with thorny shrubs and mimosas, greatly resembling the scenery near the coast. The thermometer at mid-day rose as high as 88° in the shade. The sun at this moment was nearly vertical over our heads, yet, as I have before mentioned, the mountains that lay before us were covered with snow, and we could plainly distinguish it lying in large patches on their sides, while we were at the same time scorching with

heat. In the evening we arrived at Guftamlo, when Mr. Pearce being taken ill, we were under the necessity of leaving him behind.

On the 10th we departed from Guftamlo, at half past five, and travelled over a sandy and parched plain, a few isolated spots alone having been cultivated with mishella, the old stalks of which were still remaining, and measured from nine to twelve feet high. As I was passing through a field of this towering grain, it brought strongly to my recollection a circumstance in Swift's "Travels in Brobdignag," and I could not help feeling myself, for a moment, in a situation similar to that of Gulliver, when lost among the ridges of corn. Near this spot I shot a very rare bird (Cursorius Europæus) which, from its colour, could with difficulty be distinguished from the soil.

After crossing this plain, we came to some irregular hills, so thickly covered with low trees and brushwood, that it was with the utmost difficulty that we could make our way, the road being as bad as can be well conceived, and every bush and tree being covered with terribly large thorns. We managed fortunately, however, to get through without any serious injury, and immediately afterwards descended into a deep sandy gully, which in the rainy season forms the bed of a torrent. This gully strongly resembled the pass from Hamhammo to Taranta, and the same species of trees were found growing in it, chiefly consisting of capers, juniper, tamarind trees, and a large species of Adansonia, called Entata, similar to the one I have before described as common at Mosambique. The fruit of the tamarind tree was in high perfection, and afforded us a grateful refreshment. After another slight descent, a broad expanse of country opened before us, and we found ourselves at a short distance only from the banks of the Tacazze.

I immediately ran forward, prompted by a sort of natural impulse, till we came to the edge of the stream, where, seated on the bank, I remained for some time contemplating with delight the smooth course of the waters gliding beneath. It would be in vain for me to attempt a description of the tumult of ideas which at this moment rushed upon my mind. The various monu-

ments of antiquity which I had seen in Egypt, and a whole chain of classical circumstances connected with the history of the Nile were brought to my recollection, while the idea that I was sitting by a branch of the same stream, though at the distance of eleven hundred miles from its junction with the sea, added in an extraordinary degree to the interest which such feelings inspired. While my attention was absorbed by these reflections, the noise of an hippopotamus rising to the surface, and the cry of our attendants, "Gomari," "Gomari,"* roused me from my meditations, and the sight of so rare and stupendous an animal pretty speedily gave a new turn to my thoughts. The view we obtained of this creature was only instantaneous, and its action appeared to me at the moment greatly to resemble the rolling of a grampus in the sea.

The point on which we stood commanded a small extent only of the river; as in this part of its course it makes a considerable bend, owing to the abruptness of the rocks on its western bank, which, rising up immediately opposite, completely intercepted from our view the higher summits of the mountains. As we advanced up the line of the stream we found it interrupted by frequent overfalls, a circumstance that renders it fordable at almost every season of the year. Between these fords deep holes or pits intervene, of almost immeasurable depth, which when viewed from a height present a similar appearance to the small lochs or tarns found among our own mountains in the north: and it is in these depths that the hippopotamus chiefly delights. After proceeding a short distance, we arrived at one of the most frequented of their haunts, where several of these animals were observed, when, after partially taking off our clothes, we crossed the river with our guns, for the purpose of getting a more convenient and secure situation to attack them: the eastern side, from its being flat and sandy, affording no advantage of this nature. The stream at this time might be about fifty yards across, and, at the ford over which we passed, about three feet deep, flowing with a moderate current, like the Thames at Richmond,

* The Abyssinian name for the hippopotamus.

though either side of its bed bore evident marks of the tremendous torrents which pour down in the rainy season. At this point the river divides the two districts of Avergale and Samen; so that the moment we had passed over, we might be considered as having entered the latter province.

Having soon found a place adapted to the purpose we had in view, we stationed ourselves on a high overhanging rock, which commanded the depth I have before mentioned, and had not long remained in this spot before we discovered an hippopotamus, not more than twenty yards distant, rising to the surface. At first it came up very confidently, raising its enormous head out of the water, and snorting violently in a manner somewhat resembling the noise made by a porpus. At this instant three of us discharged our guns, the contents of which appeared to strike on its forehead; when it turned its head round with an angry scowl, made a sudden plunge, and sunk down to the bottom, uttering a kind of noise between a grunt and a roar. We for some minutes entertained very sanguine hopes, that we had either killed or seriously wounded the animal, and momentarily expected to see the body float on the surface; but we soon discovered, that an hippopotamus is not so easily killed; for, shortly afterwards, it again rose up close to the same spot, with somewhat more caution than before, but apparently not much concerned at what had happened. Again we discharged our pieces, but with as little effect as at the first shot; and, though some of the party continued on their posts constantly firing at every hippopotamus that made its appearance, yet I am not sure that we made the slightest impression upon a single one of them. This can only be attributed to our having used leaden balls, which are too soft to enter the impenetrable skulls of these creatures, as we repeatedly observed the balls strike against their heads. Towards the latter part of the day, however, they began to come up with extreme wariness, merely thrusting their nostrils out of the stream, breathing hard, and spouting up the water like a fountain.

It appears from what we witnessed, that the hippopotamus cannot remain more than five or six minutes at a

time under water, being obliged to come up to the surface in the course of some such intervals for the purpose of respiration. One of the most interesting parts of the amusement was to observe the ease with which these animals quietly dropped down to the bottom; for the water being very clear, we could distinctly see them so low as twenty feet beneath the surface. I should conceive, that the size of those that we saw did not exceed sixteen feet in length, and their colour was a dusky brown, like that of the elephant.

While we were thus engaged, we occasionally observed several crocodiles, called by the natives agoos, rising at a distance to the surface of the river: they appeared to be of an enormous size and of a greenish colour. The natives of Abyssinia in general seem to entertain a more than usual dread of this animal; for, if any one goes to the Tacazze even to wash his hands, he takes a companion with him to throw stones into the water for the purpose of keeping off the crocodile; and in crossing a ford, it is usual with the natives to carry their spears and to make as much noise as possible, though these animals are seldom known to frequent the shallower parts of the stream: while the very thought of bathing in the river seemed to strike them all with horror. The thermometer in the neighbourhood of the Tacazze rose as high as 95 in the shade.

I shall not attempt to discuss the question, whether this river were the Astaboras or Astapus of the ancients, which are said to have partly encircled the Island of Meroe; since this appears to me a subject that has been already sufficiently handled, until further discoveries shall have been made, which may throw some new light upon the subject. If the account given by Ptolemy be correct, that celebrated island must have been situated very far eastward, between the Tacazze and the Mareb, since he includes the city of Axum within its limits; but this so totally contradicts the accounts given by more correct writers, that I think little doubt can be entertained that he was mistaken. Strabo observes, that Meroe was distant fifteen days journey for a messenger from the Red Sea, (Vol. II. p. 771,) and that the island of Meroe is formed by two rivers coming from the east, which flow

into the Nile: the most southern of which is the Astapus. If this be correct, the Island of Meroe must lie, as Mr. De Lisle and Mr. Bruce have conjectured, between the Nile and the Tacazze; a circumstance that would be strongly confirmed, could we depend upon the account of the ruins described by Mr. Bruce, near the confluence of the two streams.

After our day's excursion in pursuit of the hippopotamus, we returned towards our encampment under a large tree in the neighbourhood, where we intended to remain for the night. Upon arriving at the spot, I found only one of our attendants, walking up and down, watching the arms, saddles and bridles that had been left behind. In the evening, as the night was clear, I obtained a meridian altitude of one of the stars, which proved the latitude of this plain to be 13° 12′ N., by means of which, together with the bearings and distances that I had carefully computed as we went along, I was enabled to lay down the track of our journey, which will be found in the map.

On the following morning we set out on our return, and passing through the jungle before described, a little to the northward of our former course, in about two hours reached a town called Missada, which we entered amidst the wild acclamations of the inhabitants. Ras Welled Selassé some time before had *kindly* put a part of this district under the command of Dejus Gabriel of Samen. It would have been no great matter had he given him the whole; for the country for some miles around exhibited a complete bed of sandy rock, scarcely admitting of cultivation. Some laudable attempts appeared to have been made by the natives towards clearing a few spots on the sides of the hills, but their labours had not produced any very favourable effects; the little soil with which the rock was covered possessing all the bad qualities belonging to that in the Nayib of Massowa's territory, yielding nothing, except stones, weeds, thorny bushes and acacias. I was informed, that the most valuable produce of the country consists of cotton, a considerable quantity of which is raised in the neighbourhood of the river; and as this article commands a good price at Adowa, it makes up in some degree for the want of grain,

under which the district labours. In the course of the day, we passed a village called Adellet, and in the evening reached Gorura, where we were presented with a cow, and were otherwise treated with hospitality.

On the 13th, Mr. Pearce rejoined us, and having again crossed the Arequa, we proceeded by way of Agora and Cali to Chelicut, where we arrived on the 16th of April. I computed the extent of our journey into the country to have amounted to about sixty miles in a due west direction. On our return we experienced precisely the reverse of those changes in the thermometer, which are mentioned to have occurred in our descent to the Tacazze.

The Ras received me on my return with great cordiality, and on the following day did me the greatest honour which it was in his power to confer, by paying me a visit at my own house. I was engaged at the moment in finishing one of my drawings, when I heard a great bustle below, and Mr. Pearce almost at the same instant came running, out of breath, to acquaint me that the Ras was coming to the house. I immediately went down to receive him, and found him looking at the European vegetables in the garden, and making many inquiries respecting their use. He stood supported at this time by Mr. Pearce and Ayto Debib, having no one else with him except one of his Shangalla slaves, who carried his state sword. On seeing me, he smiled, and, pointing to the cabbages, said, are they good? and then turning round, laid his hand on my shoulder, and walked with me to the house. Here he continued for more than an hour, looking at some drawings of our buildings, carriages, ships, and other curiosities, which I brought forward to amuse him; and, conversing with me in the most familiar manner respecting the English customs. Mr. Pearce was exceedingly delighted at this visit, and I understood afterwards that it made a great noise throughout the country, as, for some years before, he had not paid a similar compliment to any other person, except the high priest, and some of his nearer relations. Nothing afforded me greater pleasure on this, and other occasions, than my being able to confirm the accounts which Mr. Pearce had before given, respecting the superiority of the English in

the mechanical arts. The Ras was particularly shrewd in his questions on these subjects, and often, when I explained any thing more than usually extraordinary, turned round to Mr. Pearce, and said, "You used to tell me this before; but I did not then know how to believe you."

There was at this time a Greek at Antalo, called Nus'r Alli, who about two years previously to my arrival, had come into the country, and for a time done Mr. Pearce serious mischief, by declaring, that "England was a petty state under the rule of the Turks," and, that "all the manufactures we had sent were made by the Greeks!" The inconceivable effrontery with which he asserted these things, had made it difficult for Mr. Pearce to prove the contrary; and on one or two occasions he had been so much enraged by such insinuations, that, as the Ras told me, it had been found exceedingly difficult to keep him quiet. Latterly, however, he had contrived so effectually to frighten Nus'r Alli, who was not very remarkable for his courage, that he had kept with great caution out of his way. This man, on my arrival in the country, was completely abashed, and for some time did not dare to shew his face; but, as I discovered afterwards that he was really an ingenious fellow,* and was in some respects to be pitied, I persuaded Mr. Pearce to make it up with him, and they were afterwards very good friends.

On the morning of the 20th, notice was given of the near approach of a cafila which had been for some days expected from the salt-plain, and in the afternoon we had the pleasure of witnessing its arrival in the town. It consisted of several hundred mules and asses with their loads, which had been escorted from Assa Durwa by Ayto Hannes, a nephew of the Ras, who held at this time the important office of Balgudda, and had gone down for the purpose with about two hundred of his followers. As they descended into the valley, the inhabitants of Chelicut went out to receive them, and greeted them with the same joyful acclamations with which they hon-

* During my stay, he was busily engaged in making a horse-mill for grinding corn: his success was not very great, but the attempt excited great admiration among the Abyssinians.

our their warriors when they return from battle. The service of escorting these cafilas may be considered indeed as extremely hazardous; the whole neighbourhood of the plain, from which the salt is procured (which has been before described,) being infested by a cruel race of Galla, who make it a practice to lie in wait for the individuals engaged in cutting it. These poor fellows, who are generally of the lowest order of natives, are said, in the absence of the Balgudda and his parties, to be compelled to lie down flat on the surface, when working, that they may escape the observation of their barbarous enemies, and, on the approach of a stranger, they are described as running away with great alarm to the mountains. Even when the Balgudda and his soldiers are present, frequent skirmishes take place between them and the savage borderers, in which the Galla, however, are generally the sufferers. On the present expedition, six only had been killed; and this number was considered as unusually small: the soldiers who had shewn their prowess in these actions, wearing small pieces of red cloth on their spears by way of an honourable badge of distinction. Soon after their arrival, the Ras went up into the balcony in front of his house to receive them, where they passed before him in review, dancing, shouting and exulting, as is practised at the Mascal.

As the time now approached when it became necessary for me to think of returning, I had several long conferences with the Ras on the subject of my mission. In one of these he gave me an account of the violent conduct of many of his chiefs on the death of his brother Ayto Manasseh, and of the strong objections which they had started against our coming into the country. One of these, named Balgudda Hannes,* had gone so far as openly to advise, that we should be enticed into the country and afterwards murdered. The priests at Axum had also endeavoured to raise an outcry against us, and were actually said to have ordered the doors of the churches to be locked, for the purpose of keeping out

* He was the father of Ayto Hannes before mentioned, and his sudden death, which happened only a month after that of Ayto Manasseh, had a strong effect on the minds of the Abyssinians; as they considered it to be a judgment upon him for his meditated treachery.

any unlucky spells that we might wish to set upon them. They likewise repeatedly urged the Ras to be careful of his life, as they were assured, that "our object was to kill him, and get possession of his country;" "I was not fool enough to regard these extravagancies;" (he observed,) "for if God had not been on my side, how should I so long have continued my command over the unruly people I have had to govern. Besides, as I told them, what can four or five people do?" "Some few (he added) even still remain inimical to you; but the greater part feel convinced of your friendly intentions." He concluded with saying, "as to myself, I shall never cease to pray for your king; and, if God spare me, I will before long, with the guns he has sent me, establish the Emperor in his rights at Gondar, and settle the religion of the country. We all say this is right, and the other is right in religious matters; but, as Alika Barea has told me, I believe we shall only wander about in the dark until we receive a lesson from you." This he spoke very earnestly. Shortly afterwards, he requested that I would permit one of the Englishmen attending me to stay with Mr. Pearce, assigning as a reason for the request, the necessity of having some one to manage the guns, for, as he remarked, "my enemies have all heard of their arrival, and have already expressed great alarm at the intelligence: but, unless some one remain to direct them, they (knowing our ignorance in such matters,) will soon get over their fears; leave me only another 'jagonah' like Mr. Pearce, and they will never dare to meet me in the field."

I was perfectly aware, at the time this conversation took place, to whom it referred; as Mr. Coffin had before spoken to me on the subject, expressing a wish that he might be permitted to stay with Mr. Pearce. In consequence of this, I told the Ras, that if any one of those belonging to me felt inclined to remain in the country, I should certainly not endeavour to dissuade him from it; at the same time I took the opportunity of explaining to him, that the personal freedom which British subjects enjoy, left every man perfectly at liberty to act as he might think proper on such occasions. During this interview, it was settled that our party on its return should

visit Axum, a circumstance which I had been anxious to secure, for the purpose of once more examining its ruins.

On my leaving him, he presented me with one of his favourite mules, richly caparisoned with trappings of red velvet, and the skin of a black leopard, which is extremely rare, and worn only by governors of provinces. He also gave me two small manuscripts, one of which he assured me contained the true doctrines of the faith, as believed by the orthodox part of the Abyssinians, which I have since found to be a pastoral letter, addressed by the patriarch of Alexandria to the Abyssinian church. This treatise, on my return to England, was translated by the Reverend Mr. Murray, the late editor of Mr. Bruce's works, for the benefit of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which is at present engaged in printing a portion of the Scriptures in Ethiopic. The writing, as might be expected, is extremely diffuse, and in some parts obscure; but contains, on the whole, a fair abstract of the Abyssinians' tenets, and a considerable portion of curious matter respecting the absurd disputes which have latterly taken place in their church. The other manuscript contains an account of his last campaign against the Galla, written by a scribe at the court, which is filled more with adulatory compliments than facts. Parts of this were occasionally read in the Ras's presence, and it seemed to afford him no small portion of gratification; the Abyssinians, indeed, generally possessing an anxious desire of having their names handed down to the admiration of succeeding ages.

On the 25th of April, which, according to the Abyssinian reckoning, was the last day of Lent, the Ras very early in the morning informed us, that it was his intention to remove his residence to Antálo, and expressed a desire that we should accompany him to that place, with which request we complied. Accordingly, at day-light, he sent three of his best horses for our use, one of which, named Shummut, had for many years been his favourite, and the two others had lately been sent as presents from Liban, the chief of the Galla. The Ras himself had already set out; but on our arriving at a plain, near the village of Afguol, we found him waiting to receive us,

surrounded by about two hundred slaves and attendants, and about forty chiefs on horseback, who were galloping about and skirmishing with each other, after the manner of the country. Their style of riding differs materially from that of the Arabs, owing, in a great measure, to their using long stirrups, and to their taking a larger sweep for their manœuvres. Their horses are generally strong, of a beautiful make, and in very high condition; but the latter part of the description could not be very correctly applied to the riders, who, from the long continuance of the fast, looked, for the most part, terribly thin and emaciated. The Abyssinians, in general, are well skilled in horsemanship, and exceedingly graceful in their movements, managing their arms with great dexterity, and at the same time never for an instant losing the perfect command of their horses. The lightness of their accoutrements is particularly advantageous, and gives them such a scope for the free exercise of their limbs, as would, in my opinion, render them superior to an equal number of Arabs. Their bridle, called "legaum," consists of a coarse Mameluke bit, a plain headstall, and a neatly-wrought chain, answering the purpose of reins. The saddle is very simple in its form, but of an excellent construction, consisting of two thin pieces of wood, fastened together by thongs of leather, with a high pommel in front, and a kind of back to lean against; the whole of which is covered with an ornamental piece of red leather, manufactured in the country in imitation of morocco; under this is placed a 'marashut,' or 'cloth of quilted stuff,' which is doubled in front, in order more particularly to preserve the shoulders of the horse: the whole of these accoutrements being exceedingly light, and strongly fastened on the animal by a girth, a broad breast-band, and a crupper, which is not, like ours, sustained by the tail only, but, from being fastened to the two sides of the saddle, passes round the whole of the hinder part of the animal. By way of ornament round the neck of their horses, the Abyssinians place a collar, made of the Zebra's mane, together with chains of jingling brass, and occasionally a small bell. The whole of this equipage is so decidedly different from that of their neighbours, the Arabs, that it affords, among others,

a strong argument against their customs being derived from the same origin.

The persons attached to my party also exhibited their skill in riding, much to the satisfaction of the Ras, who particularly expressed his delight on finding that we were so well skilled in this their favourite exercise. After amusing ourselves in this manner for some hours, we proceeded forward to Antálo, where, on our arrival, we were met by a deputation of the priests, splendidly dressed out for the occasion, who, after paying their compliments to the Ras, turned round and marched before us, vociferously singing psalms, and tinkling a number of small bells, which they carried for this purpose in their hands. In the evening a repast of fish, &c. was served up for the last time during the season, of which a great number of the first people in the country partook; and one of the head priests, when it was over, pronounced a blessing on all those who had properly observed the holy institution of Lent.

On the 26th we were called up early in the morning to attend a feast, celebrated in honour of the day, at which no less than five cows were killed by the Ras, and so large a quantity of brind was consumed both by priests and laity, as clearly evinced that they were determined to make up as speedily as possible for the restraint which had so long been laid upon their appetites. The Ras himself was in excellent spirits, and in the course of the entertainment presented me with his own brulhé to drink out of, filled with red wine, which was considered as so very singular a favour, that it seemed to astonish all the chiefs who were present. Among these, were Baharnegash Yasous, Baharnegash Subhart, and Kantiba Socinius, who had, I found, all been expressly sent for by the Ras, for the purpose of securing their good behaviour on my return. To each of these, as well as to our own party, a cow, and a large quantity of maiz was sent in the course of the day by the Ras, in order to regale our respective followers: and, in consequence, towards evening, as might well be expected, scarcely an Abyssinian was to be found throughout the town, who was not considerably affected by the quantity of liquor he had drunk during the celebration of the festival.

I afterwards understood, that preparations had been making for this feast for full three weeks, and that followers of the Ras had been sent out to a considerable distance, in different directions, to collect a sufficient quantity of "sadoo," (the bitter root with which the maiz is impregnated,) for the occasion. This kind of feasting and holiday-making lasted for several days. In the course of this time the Ras received a visit from some of the chiefs of the Assubo Galla from the south, residing near Muntilli, in the neighbourhood of the salt-plain, where formerly a mart of great consequence was held by the traders, who had been accustomed to assemble there from the most distant parts of the country. These Galla wore garments similar to those of the Abyssinians: and their heads were *liberally* greased and powdered, most of them exhibiting on their arms ivory bracelets, and trophies, according to the number of enemies they had killed; many of them displaying nine of these badges, and none of them less than two. I learnt with surprise, that it was extremely probable that most of these insignia had been acquired by the slaughter of subjects belonging to the Ras, with whom they were at this moment at war; yet, notwithstanding this circumstance, so great was their confidence in his honour, that they were not afraid to come singly even into his presence. I found that the object of their visit on this occasion, was to bring him a present of some Sanga, or oxen, with the hope of prevailing upon him to interfere with the chief of Wojjerat, in order to prevent his making incursions into their territory. This very chief was also present at the time: and it was curious to remark, the affected mildness with which the parties behaved towards each other; though an angry glance would occasionally escape them, that very intelligibly bespoke their real feelings. These Galla made no scruple about eating food from the Ras's table; which was, however, served out to them in separate dishes, from a prejudice entertained by the Abyssinians against eating with any except Christians. At the conclusion of the entertainment, I invited one of the Galla to pay me a visit, to which he consented, though I had great difficulty in persuading him to stay long enough to enable me to complete a sketch of his figure; which I

could accomplish only by stealth, while Mr. Pearce kept him amused in conversation; as, in a former instance, when I had made a similar attempt, the man, having perceived what I was about, ran away in great alarm, through fear of a spell being laid upon him. Perhaps it may be worthy of remark, that these Galla, on observing the red hair of one of our party, were so much delighted with it, that they called him, "Moti," a name equivalent to that of Ras,* in the Abyssinian language. The Abyssinians, on the contrary, made the light colour of our hair, and the pale complexion of our features, an occasional subject of ridicule.

On one of these festive days a circumstance happened, which, though extremely ludicrous in its consequences, might have produced very unpleasant effects. I am, therefore, induced to mention it by way of caution to other travellers, though I cannot altogether excuse myself from somewhat of imprudence in having inadvertently given occasion to the occurrence. Among other presents which I had taken up into the country, a quantity of artificial fire-works had been selected, chiefly consisting of serpents, small wheels, and crackers, which at different times had afforded the Ras and his chiefs much amusement; the former taking great delight in lighting them himself, and in throwing them among his attendants. Several Galla chiefs, whom I have before mentioned, and other strangers being present at the time, the Ras expressed a desire that I would let Mr. Pearce exhibit some of the best of these compositions; which were accordingly produced. On this occasion, I have to observe, that the room in which we sat was about sixty feet long by thirty broad, filled with guests who were all habited after the fashion of their respective countries, in loose flowing cotton garments. Without considering this circumstance, or taking into account the nature of the composition to be exhibited, I requested Mr. Pearce to let off one of the largest of our fire-works, labelled "a flower-pot." Some little time was occupied in preparing it;

* One being from "Mata," "head," in Galla, and the other from "Raz," "head," in the Geez, as our own word "captain," from "caput."

and on its being placed nearly in the centre of the room, eager expectation sat on the countenances of all who were present.

At length the match was brought and the fuse lighted, when such a deluge of sparks and fire balls were almost instantaneously showered down upon us, that its effects struck the whole party with consternation. Several of the chiefs cried out, that "the destruction had come upon them which they had expected to ensue from our arrival in the country;" others, more alarmed, crept under the couches; and some ran, frightened and screaming, into the corners of the room: while the Ras and a few only of the more resolute kept quietly on their seats. At the instant that I perceived the confusion which was likely to be produced by this exhibition, I jumped from my couch, stood immediately before the Ras, and, with open arms, kept off the sparks of fire that fell towards him; assuring him, most solemnly, at the same time, that no danger could be apprehended. His natural courage was strongly displayed on this occasion; for he sat perfectly collected, smiling at the alarm of his followers, and, though several of their garments afterwards caught fire and the uproar continued to increase, did not evince the slightest agitation. Fortunately, his own dress was one of the few that escaped unsinged, which was considered as a good omen, especially as that of Kasimaj Yasous, the King's brother, did not meet with the same good fortune. At length, to my great relief, the shower of sparks began to abate, and when it had all subsided, the face of things took a different turn; the Ras expressing himself greatly delighted with the exhibition, turning the whole affair into ridicule, and rallying most unmercifully those chiefs who had expressed their fears on the occasion; though he afterwards observed, apart to me, "that for the future it would be better to exhibit these things when we were by ourselves." In this manner the affair terminated, which, though it appeared likely to have taken a serious turn in the first instance, was nevertheless mixed with such a portion of the ridiculous, as afterwards to afford our party a constant subject of merriment, and a celebrated jester at the Ras's court subsequently worked it up into a very amusing representation.

As I am now upon the holiday sports of the Abyssinians, it may not be amiss to give some account of this man. Totte Máze, for such was his name, was one of the cleverest mimicks I have ever seen; the command which he possessed over his features almost equalling that which was displayed on the boards of our own theatres by Suet; an actor to whom he bore considerable resemblance. One of his chief acquirements consisted in the singular art of making other people (particularly strangers, who had not been apprized of his intention) imitate the contortions of his own features, a power which I repeatedly saw him exercise with success, and which, on one occasion, drew me into the same kind of ridiculous situation, without my being conscious of the changes in my countenance, until I was roused by a friendly hint from the Ras, who let me into the secret of what he was about. He afterwards performed, at the Ras's request, some finished pieces of acting that evinced very extraordinary native talent.

One of these consisted in the imitation of the behaviour of a chief in battle, who had not been remarkable for his courage. At first he came in very pompously; calling out in an overbearing manner to his soldiers, and vaunting what he would do when the enemy approached. He then mimicked the sound of horns heard from a distance, and the low beating of a drum. At hearing this, he represented the chief as beginning to be a little cautious, and to ask questions of those around him, whether they thought the enemy were strong. This alarm he continued to heighten in proportion as the enemy advanced, until at last he depicted the hero as nearly overcome by his fears; the musquet trembling in his hand, his heart panting, and his eyes completely fixed, while, without being conscious of it, his legs began to make a very prudent retreat. This part of his acting excited among the spectators its due share of contempt, when, dexterously laying hold of the circumstance, he affected to be ashamed of his cowardice, mustered up his whole stock of courage, and advanced, firing his matchlock at the same moment in a direction exactly contrary to that in which the enemy was supposed to stand, when, apparently frightened at the noise of his own gun, he sank

down on his knees, and begged for mercy: during this time the expression of his face was inimitable, and, at the conclusion, the whole of the spectators burst into a shout of admiration.

In another representation, he imitated the overstrained politeness of an Amharic courtier, paying a first visit to a superior. On coming in, he fell on his face and kissed the ground, paying most abject compliments to the chief, and, on being invited to sit down, placed himself with well-feigned humility close to the threshold of the door. Shortly afterwards, on the supposition of a question being asked him by the chief, he arose, and still carrying on the farce, prostrated himself the second time, and gave an answer couched in very polite and artful phrases, advancing cautiously at the same time into the middle of the room. In this manner he continued to take advantage of the attentions paid to him, gradually stealing along, till he got close to the side of the chief, when he assumed an extraordinary degree of familiarity, talked loudly, and, to complete the ridiculous effect of the whole scene, affectedly shoved his nose almost in contact with the other's face. This species of satire afforded great delight to the Tigrians; as they pretend on all occasions to despise the submissive and effeminate manners of the people of Amhara, whom they invariably describe, as "possessing smooth tongues and no hearts."

In addition to his other representations, Totte Máze gave a most admirable imitation of the mincing step and coquettish manners of the women of Amhara, and of their extreme affectation in answering a few of the most common questions. In all these representations, the tones of his voice were so perfectly adapted to the different characters, and his action so thoroughly appropriate, that it gave me very unexpected gratification.

The following instance may be related, as a specimen of the wit usually practised by the jesters of this country; who, like the fools of old times, exercise their ingenuity upon persons of every description, without regard to rank or station. He had, one day, so much offended the Ras by some liberties that he had taken with him, that he ordered him never again to set foot upon his carpet, (which, it may be noticed, extends about half way down the

room.) On the following day, however, to the great surprise of the company, the jester made his appearance, mounted on the shoulders of one of his attendants, in which ludicrous situation he advanced close up to the Ras, and with a very whimsical expression of features, cried out, "you can't say that I am on your carpet now." The Ras, who, like most of his countrymen, delights in humour, could not refrain from smiling, which insured the jester's forgiveness. Several other anecdotes were related to me, that displayed much originality, but they were of a description that the reader will probably forgive me for omitting.

The chief amusement of the lower class of the community during this season of festivity, consists in playing at a game called 'kersa,' which is precisely similar to the common English game of 'bandy.' Large parties meet for this purpose; the inhabitants of whole villages frequently challenging each other to the contest. On these occasions, as might be expected, the game is violently disputed, and when the combatants are pretty equally matched, it sometimes takes up the greater part of the day to decide. The victors afterwards return shouting and dancing to their homes, amidst the loud acclamations of their female friends. I also occasionally observed, at Antálo, that the vanquished were received with similar honours: and we often heard them challenging their opponents, in a friendly way, to renew the sport, though at other times, the parties engaged in these contests, fell into a violent rage, both men and women uttering the most terrible menaces, and pouring forth torrents of abuse; so that, as frequently happens in our own country, that which was begun in jest ended in blows; but, even in such cases, they are never known to attack each other with any other weapon than the sticks, or bandies, which they employ in the game. Mr. Pearce mentioned an instance which occurred in his presence, where one-half of the town of Moculla was so hotly engaged against the other, that at last the combat became very alarming, and the Ras himself was obliged to interfere, but did not succeed in parting them, till several men had been laid dead in the field. The Ras received an accidental blow in the fray, notwithstanding which, he would not, from a feeling

of humanity, which is the distinguishing feature of his character, permit Mr. Pearce to use his pistols, which he had drawn out for the occasion.

In a country like Abyssinia, where the natives possess so lively and active a character, it may be readily conceived, that every marriage, birth, or other important event, is attended with great festivity and rejoicing, all of which, however, they celebrate so much in the same way, that it will not be necessary to enter further into a description of them. I shall merely observe, that at the commencement of such meetings, nothing can be more agreeable than to witness the gaiety, mutual harmony, and mirth which is displayed, and it is remarkable, that, even during the scenes of intoxication, which almost invariably ensue, the higher ranks are very rarely known to quarrel, no single instance of any one of them drawing his knife on such an occasion having ever fallen under my own observation.

On the 27th of April, I had a public audience given me by the Ras, at which, he delivered into my hands a letter written in the Ethiopic language, which he requested me to deliver to His Majesty, or his minister, and at the same time he presented to me a gold chain, with a medallion suspended to it, on which were engraved the armorial bearings of the Abyssinian emperors, which he begged me to accept, as the highest honour that it was in his power to confer. At this conference, I was also requested by the Ras, to take with me Ayto Debib, as his envoy to England, that he might express more particularly the Ras's sentiments to His Majesty's government, which offer I felt myself under the necessity of declining. He likewise mentioned, that he had two small lions, which he wished me to carry as a present to His Majesty; but the distance which I had to return, rendered their conveyance totally impracticable. One of these animals was occasionally brought by his keeper into the room where we sat: but during the course of my stay he became so fierce and intractable, that it became necessary to confine him, and in a short time afterwards he died.

On the following night, the Ras, as a distinguishing mark of attention, had us called up at midnight to partake of a small repast. We found him seated, as usual

on his couch, by the side of an excellent fire, attended by some of his confidential people, and a few Shangalla slaves. In the course of the short period that the repast occupied, two applications were made at his gateway for justice, the parties crying out, "Abait, abait!" Master, master! which is the usual mode in which supplicants address their chiefs on such occasions. Immediately on his hearing this appeal, he ordered the applicants to be admitted, and after listening to their complaints, and enjoining secrecy, desired them to appear before him in public on a particular day. By these, and similar means, he obtains so accurate a knowledge of the events that occur in the different districts, that the chiefs, however distantly removed from his immediate control, dare not commit any very flagrant act of injustice, from the dread of its coming to his knowledge.

I have often had occasion to mention the Shangalla, who are in attendance on the Ras, and I shall therefore proceed to give the reader a short account of them. It appears, that the name of Shangalla, or Shankalla, is a generic term applied by the Abyssinians, without distinction, to the whole race of "Negroes," in the same way as they apply the words Taltal, and Shiho, to the various tribes on the coast. All those Shangalla with whom I conversed would not acknowledge the appellation, but had distinct names for their own tribes, the greater part of them having been taken captives in the neighbourhood of the lower part of the Tacazze, or in the wild forests northward of Abyssinia; while some of the others had been brought by the traders from countries beyond the Nile, and even from so great a distance as the neighbourhood of the Bahr el Abiad. I received from one of the latter the following account of the nation to which he belonged. "The tribe, of which he had been a member, was called Dizzela, inhabiting a district named Dabanja, three days journey beyond the Nile, in a country bearing the general appellation of Damitchequa. He mentioned, that his countrymen entertain a very imperfect notion of God, whom they call Mussa-guzza. The only species of adoration they offer up to the deity, is during a great holiday, called kemoos, when the whole people assemble to sacrifice a cow, which is not killed in

the usual way, by having its throat cut, but by being stabbed in a thousand places.

They have neither priests, nor rulers, all men being looked upon as equals, though considerable respect is shewed to age; an old man being always allowed to drink first, and to enjoy the privilege of keeping two wives, while the younger are obliged to content themselves with one. When a young man is desirous of marrying, it is customary for him to give his sister to another man, and to take his in return; or, if he have no sister, he will go to war for the purpose of taking a female prisoner, who is immediately adopted as his sister, and formally exchanged; no other dower on either side being ever required. They do not marry so early as the Abyssinians, but wait till they are seventeen or eighteen years of age, yet no such thing as connection between the sexes is said to be ever known to take place till after marriage. Adultery is punished with death. The women, besides taking care of the house, assist the men in ploughing, and are entitled to an equal share of the produce of the land. When a child is born, the father gives it a name, which is generally derived from some circumstance connected with its birth, or an accidental mark on its body. The name of my informant was Oma-zéna, on account of his being born with a wart on his hand; others were called "Im-magokwa," "born in the night," "wokéa," "born while making booza," "wunnéa," "born on the ground;" "magokwa," signifying "night," "kéa," "booza," and "ennea," "dust." When a man dies, he is buried without ceremony in his clothes: and the relations kill and feast on the cattle he leaves behind him, the wife having for her share, the household furniture which her husband may have possessed, and the sons inheriting his arms, implements of agriculture, and land. The favourite occupation of the men is hunting; and they indiscriminately eat the flesh of the elephant, rhinoceros, buffalo, deer, snake, rat, or whatever else they can procure. The rhinoceros of this country has invariably two horns.

The arms of these savages consist of spears, shields, bows and arrows, and the tribe is continually engaged in war with the people of Metikul and Banja, who frequently invade the country for the express purpose of procur-

ing slaves. When the Dezzela take any prisoners, they tie their legs, and employ them either in making cloth or manufacturing iron; and, if incapable of work, they kill them. A strong people called Dippura resides in the interior of the Dabanja country. My informant spoke familiarly of the Duggala mountains; and said they were on the opposite side from Darfoor, and mentioned a mountain called Yiba Hossa, to which his countrymen are accustomed to retire, when pressed by an enemy. Several rivers, called Quoquea, Púsa, Kuōssa, and Popa, flow through these districts, which are all said to run in the same direction as the Bahr el Abiad. It is three days journey from the last mentioned river to the Kuōssa, and one from the Kuōssa to Púsa; the other lying still farther in the interior.

The only musical instruments in use among them are trumpets, made of the horn of the agazen, pipes formed of bamboo, and a kind of lyre with five strings, called "junqua." The man who gave me this information said, that the music of a large junqua was delightful, and seemed quite exhilarated at the bare recollection of its harmony. A copious vocabulary of the language of this people is given in the Appendix, as I conceive, that it is more likely to be connected with some of the western or southern dialects of the Negroes than any other I had the means of obtaining.

The tribe of Shangalla that resides near the Tacazze, has been very ably described by Mr. Bruce.* It appears to be a perfectly different people in every respect but colour and form, from that of Dabanja; the language of the two tribes being also entirely distinct. Two little boys belonging to the Tacazze Shangalla, who a short time before had been taken prisoners, much amused me, at Antalo, with their playful antics; dancing and singing in a manner peculiar to their nation: one of their songs, which they had been taught in their infancy, had something extremely affecting in the tune as well as in the words, and it was translated to me nearly as follows:

"They come, and catch us by the waters of the
Tacazze: they make us slaves.

* Vide Vol. IV. p. 28, et seq.

Our mothers with alarm flee to the mountains;
and leave us alone in strange hands."

Generally speaking, however, the slaves in Abyssinia are very happy; and several of those I conversed with, who had been captured at an advanced period of life, preferred their latter mode of living to that which they had led in their native wilds; a circumstance which, in a great measure, may be attributed to the docility of their character which allows them soon to become naturalized among strangers. The situation of slaves, indeed, is rather honourable than disgraceful throughout the East; and the difference between their state and that of the western slaves is strikingly apparent. They have no long voyage to make, no violent change of habits to undergo, no outdoor labour to perform, and no "white man's scorn" to endure; but, on the contrary, are frequently adopted, like children, into the family, and, to make use of an Eastern expression, "bask in the sunshine of their master's favour."

On the 2d of May, in consequence of my having acceded to Mr. Coffin's desire of remaining in the country, the Ras assembled at midnight four of the chief priests of Antalo, and declared before them his intentions respecting both him and Mr. Pearce. He promised, that he would always treat them with kindness; would supply their wants; and, whenever they might choose it, would do all in his power to facilitate their return home. In compliance with a wish that I had expressed, that the primary object of maintenance might be left without dispute, he agreed, that they should be allowed three interlaams (or twenty-four bushels) of corn per month, besides provender for two horses, thirty pieces of salt weekly, and a gumbo of maiz every day, with other articles in proportion; and, he added, that if Mr. Pearce continued faithful to him, he would in a short time settle upon him an ample provision. This agreement being concluded, a prayer, as usual, was recited by the priests to give a sanctity to the act; after which they retired. We then proceeded to take our "nightly repast," which consisted of a curried fowl and a quantity of cakes made with peas and teff.

During the following day, while preparations were making for our departure, the Ras appeared to be much depressed, wished me to keep continually near him, and often fixed his eyes upon me with a sorrowful expression, repeatedly inquiring, "if I should ever again return to the country." To which I answered, with some degree of réluctance, that "I believed, I should never again undertake the voyage." I found, that a dream, which he had had a few nights before, had left a strange impression respecting me, upon his mind. He fancied that he was sitting on the brow of a hill, and, that he saw me, in a plain below, passing along and sowing grain with both hands, and that the corn sprung up instantaneously round me in great profusion; while, at the same instant, he perceived, that his lap was full of gold. It is astonishing what an effect trifling circumstances of this description produce in a country where the minds of the inhabitants are deeply tinged with superstition and a love of scriptural lore.

In the course of the ensuing night, we paid our last visit to the Ras: he was much affected, and the parting was painful on both sides. During the visit, he again expressed, in the strongest terms, his gratitude to our Sovereign, for regarding the welfare of so remote a country; and expressed his most anxious wish to encourage, by every means in his power, an intercourse with Great Britain; at the same time, expressing with great sincerity his fears, that the country which he commanded might not be able to supply any quantity of valuable commodities sufficient to recompense our merchants for engaging in so precarious a trade; more especially as the Abyssinians were not much acquainted with commercial transactions, and the unsettled state of the provinces prevented the usual circulation of gold and other articles which are brought from the interior. Could any plan, however, be arranged for obviating these difficulties, he assured me, that he would most readily concur in carrying it into effect, though, he observed, it would be useless for him to interfere with the Mahometans on the coast, so long as they had a naval superiority in the Red Sea. There was so much good sense in these remarks, and they so exactly corresponded with my own views of the subject, that they did not admit of any reply; except the

declaration, that I would never lose sight of the interests of Abyssinia, and that I was disposed to think, that his Majesty's ministers would find a pleasure in doing their utmost to promote the welfare of his country. This and similar conversation had engaged us from two o'clock A. M. till daylight, when we rose to take our leave. The old man, on this occasion, got up from his couch, and attended us to the door of his hall, where he stood watching us, with tears running down his face, until we were fairly out of sight.

CHAPTER IX.

Arrival at Chelicut—Baptism of a Musselmaun boy—Manner of administering the holy communion—Visit from the high priest—Latitude and longitude of Chelicut ascertained—Departure from that place—Some account of the Ras's chief painter, and remarks respecting Abyssinian art—Visit to the chief of Giralta—Pass of Atbara—Arrival at Abba Tsama—Character of Palambaras Toclu—Journey to Adowa—Excursion to Axum—Description of its ruins—Æthiopic inscription—Revise of the Greek inscription which I discovered in my former travels—A few general remarks relating to it—Return to Adowa—Diseases prevalent in Abyssinia—Funerals of the natives—Description of the Toscar—Trade and consequence of Adowa—Journey to the Coast—Remains of a monastery at Abba Asfé, near the river Mareb—Part of an ancient Æthiopic inscription found there—Journey to Dixan—Account of some travellers from Darfoor—Descent of the mountain Assauli—Parting with the Baharnegash Yasous—Arrival at Massowa—Events which occurred at that place—Its trade—Some particulars respecting the ancient city of Adulis—Departure for Mocha—Safe arrival at that place.

AFTER leaving the Ras at Antâlo, we proceeded towards Chelicut; and, on our arrival at that place, completed the preparations for our journey to the coast. On the following day I attended the baptism of a Bedowee boy, at that time living as servant with Mr. Pearce, whom we had persuaded to become a convert to the Christian faith, not only with the view of benefiting the poor boy, but also from being desirous, by this last act, of making an impression on the minds of the Abyssinians favourable to the British character. I had previously, by the distribution of a few presents, gained the sanction of his friends; and the boy himself was delighted with the change, owing to the inconveniences to which he had been subjected from being a Musselmaun. This ceremony took place on the 5th, at day-break; an early hour being considered as requisite, on account of the subsequent celebration of the sacrament of the communion, which can only be administered fasting.

On reaching the church, we found the head priest, Abou Barea, with about twenty priests of an inferior order, waiting in a small area about thirty yards from

the spot, some of whom were engaged in chaunting psalms, while the rest were busy in preparing the water and making other necessary arrangements for the occasion. At sun-rise, every thing being ready, an attendant was sent round from the high priest, to point out to each person concerned the part which he was to take in the ceremony. The officiating priest was habited in white flowing robes, with a tiara, or silver-mounted cap on his head, and he carried a censer with burning incense in his right hand: a second of equal rank was dressed in similar robes, supporting a large golden cross, while a third held in his hand a small phial containing a quantity of meiron,* or consecrated oil, which is furnished to the church of Abyssinia by the Patriarch of Alexandria. The attendant priests stood round in the form of a semicircle, the boy being placed in the centre, and our party ranged in front. After a few minutes interval, employed in singing psalms, some of the priests took the boy and washed him all over very carefully in a large bason of water. While this was passing a smaller font called መጥመቅ me-te-mak (which is always kept outside of the churches, owing to an unbaptized person not being permitted to enter the church) was placed in the middle of the area filled with water, which the priest consecrated by prayer, waving the incense repeatedly over it, and dropping into it a portion of the meiron in the shape of a cross. The boy was then brought back, dripping from head to foot, and again placed naked and upright in the centre; and was required to renounce "the devil and all his works," which was performed, by his repeating a given formula four separate times, turning each time towards a different point of the compass. The godfather was then demanded, and on my being presented, I nam-

* Father Bernat, in a letter from Cairo, dated 1711, gives the following account of consecration of the meiron (or holy chrism used throughout the Alexandrian church in baptism:) "The consecration of the meiron is performed with great expense and many ceremonies by the patriarch himself, assisted by the bishop. It is composed, not only of oil of olives and balm, but of many other precious and odoriferous drugs. When the patriarch consecrates an archbishop (or abuna) of Abyssinia, he gives him some of this meiron, which is not sent into the country on any other occasion." Vide Le Grand, p. 340, English edition.

ed the child George, in honour of his present Majesty, when I was requested to say the Belief and the Lord's Prayer, and to make much the same promises as those required by our own church. The head priest afterwards laid hold of the boy, dipping his own hand into the water, and crossed him over the forehead, pronouncing at the same moment, "George, I baptise thee; in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." The whole company then knelt down, and joined in reciting the Lord's Prayer.

Here, as I was given to understand, the ordinary ceremony of baptism concludes; but as the boy had been a Musselmaun, he was, in addition, crossed with the consecrated oil over every joint and limb, or altogether, thirty-six times in different parts of his body. After this, he was wrapped in a clean white linen cloth,* and placed for a moment in my arms, the priests telling me, that "I must henceforth consider him verily as my son." The high priest did not take any active part in this ceremony, but the whole was conducted with great decorum, and a due degree of solemnity. The boy afterwards, according to the custom of most of the Eastern churches, was admitted to partake of the Holy Communion.† On our return from the church, the high priest accompanied us home, and continued with us nearly an hour. He paid me many compliments on what had passed, and declared, that "I had done an act which would for ever be recorded in their books; as the baptism of the boy most clearly proved, that the English were not "Franks" (alluding to the conduct of the Jesuits about baptism,) but that we adhered to the pure religion of the Apostles." After some conversation of this kind, in which he expressed the highest opinion of our doctrines, he ended by repeating nearly the same words which he had before

* This is a very ancient part of the ceremony, as appears from the testimony of many of the Fathers collected by Casalius—Puellus infans mutatione vestis sensu externo festum colit, quandoquidem interiori animi sensu nondum potest, &c. Vide De veteribus sacris Christianorum ritibus, auctore Johannis Bapt. Casalius Romanus. Francofurti, 1681.

† Ritum Eucharistiæ suscipiendæ post Baptismum non solum adultis, verum etiam infantibus fuisse communem. Vide the same author, p. 60.

used to the Ras: "we go on in the dark, not knowing what is right or what is wrong, but I believe we shall do no good until we get a lesson from you;" "and now," he added, rising from his seat, "at the desire of the Ras, and from the friendship I bear you, I have to pray to God for your future prosperity:" he then recited a long prayer for our safe return, to which we with great sincerity answered, "Amen."

I have been induced to dwell at some length upon the preceding ceremony of baptism, from its determining one of the most disputed points respecting the Abyssinian Church, the Jesuits having always accused it of an error in the form of administering the ceremony, which rendered it of no avail. In conformity with this opinion, they insisted on the re-baptism of all those whom they converted to the Romish Church, a circumstance which ultimately gave great offence, and tended to occasion their dismissal from the country. Many erroneous observations and mis-statements have also been made respecting a ceremony practised by the Abyssinians on the feast of the Epiphany, which falls, according to their reckoning, on the 11th of January, when the greater part of the inhabitants are accustomed to assemble by the brooks or lakes in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of performing a species of ablution,* which has been interpreted into an annual repetition of baptism. I made many enquiries respecting this custom, which Mr. Pearce had witnessed every year during his stay in the country, and I found that it was always considered as "a mere commemoration of Our Saviour's baptism;" and that, it was rather a holiday scene of riotous mirth, than a religious ceremony. The younger part of the company, after they have received the priest's blessing, jump into the water, and as Ludolf well describes, "proceed to leap and dance, and duck one another, and by and by to fill the neighbouring fields with hoopings and hollowings; the usual consequences of such kind of sport."

The Abyssinians administer the holy Sacrament of communion in both kinds, with leavened bread always

* Mr. Bruce has given a very just account of this ceremony, which he witnessed at Adowa.

prepared fresh for the occasion, and with wine made of a red grape, common in some parts of the country; while in others, they are obliged to use as a substitute, a liquor made of dried grapes squeezed in water. After the consecration of the bread and wine, just before they are delivered to the people, a bell is rung, and all those who are present bow themselves to the earth; but this does not appear to be done from any idea of the real presence, as no such belief was entertained by any of those with whom I conversed on the subject. Both the administrants and communicants always abstain very strictly from eating and drinking during the whole of the morning previously to their partaking of the holy rite, for the easier accomplishment of which, it is generally celebrated at an early hour. The marriage of more than one wife was considered, formerly, as a disqualification from receiving the Sacrament; but in this respect, the church has in some instances relaxed in its practice, where the wealth and power of the parties place them above its censure. The altar on which the bread and wine are prepared, is called Tâbot, and the Abyssinians attach to it a strong degree of reverence, regarding it as a kind of sacred "ark," and connecting with it certain traditions relating to the "stealing of the ark of the covenant by Menilek," which was supposed to have been lodged in the church at Axum.

During our stay at Chelicut, I took a considerable number of observations, for the purpose of determining its position; the results of which were as follows:

By meridian altitude of the moon, April 23d,				13° 21′ 19″
Ditto.	ditto.		24th,	13 21 49
				2)26 43 8
	Mean Latitude of Chelicut			13 21 34
	Longitude per lunar observations.			
April 26th,	1st. set	-	-	40° 32′ 20″
	2d. do.	-	-	40 44 45
	3d. do.	-	-	41 3 45
*April 27th,	1st. set	-	-	40 38 0
	2d. do.	-	-	40 7 37
				5)203 6 27
	Mean Longitude of Chelicut			40 37 17

* An error in two dates has occurred, a few pages back, which I here wish to

These observations place Chelicut farther to the westward than I have ventured to remove it, on account of Mr. Bruce's longitude of Gondar and the result of several sets of bearings taken in my different journies; in consequence of which, I have been induced to take a medium between the bearings and the lunars for the map.

Before we left Chelicut, I purchased from a nephew of the Ras a small Abyssinian mare, which was considered as one of the best in the country; having been brought as a present to the Ras from the province of Gojam near the sources of the Nile. I was afterwards fortunate enough to bring this animal safe to England; and as I had become a good deal attached to it from having daily fed it with my own hand during a long and precarious voyage, I felt anxious with respect to its future treatment: I therefore took the liberty of offering it to his Royal Highness, the Prince Regent, who was graciously pleased to accept it; and it has since, as I understand, enjoyed the pleasure of roaming at large in the park at Hampton Court.

At ten o'clock, on the 5th of May, we set out on our journey, and were accompanied for a few miles by the Prince Kasimaj Yasous and some other acquaintance we had made at Chelicut, who had expressed a strong desire to pay us this last compliment. Among these was a very ingenious man, who held the office of chief painter to the Ras. Considering the very slender means of improvement which the country afforded, it appeared to me surprising, how far he had advanced in his art, for, as he himself remarked, "I am like a man blindfolded: I go on muddling in the dark, until I produce something, but under such circumstances, it is not likely to prove very good." All classes of people in Abyssinia, it may be observed, are fond of pictures; the inner walls of their churches being filled with them, and every chief considering himself fortunate, if he can get one painted on the wall of his principal room. As I felt desirous of bringing home a specimen of Abyssinian art, I engaged the person above mentioned to paint me one of his best pictures during my stay at Chelicut, which he completed in about

correct. In page 283, 25th should be 28th, and in page 285, 26th should be 29th. These errors arose from mistakes made in copying my original Journal.

six days; and it afforded me considerable amusement to watch its progress. He first suspended the paper against the wall; then, made an exact outline of his design with charcoal; and afterwards went carefully over it again with a coarse sort of Indian ink; subsequently to which he introduced the colours. As I consider this production to be, in some respects, better than might have been expected, I have given an exact outline of it for the amusement of the reader.

The subject represented is that of two Abyssinian horsemen engaged in battle with the Galla. The dress of the warriors and the accoutrements of the horses are very faithfully delineated, and there appears to me something very characteristic in the expression on the countenances of the retreating Galla, who, notwithstanding they have witnessed the extraordinary prowess of their companion, (who keeps his post perfectly disregardless of the spear run through his body) begin to think it high time to quit the field. The Abyssinians, in their pictures, always strangely exaggerate the dimensions of the eye, and invariably draw their figures with full faces, except when they wish to represent a Jew, to whom they uniformly give a side face; but the reason for this singular distinction I could never justly ascertain. The colours of the original painting are of the most gaudy description; unbroken greens, reds, and yellows preponderating, and being most inharmoniously distributed throughout the composition. The materials employed by this artist were of the most common description, and had been brought by a Greek from Cairo.

After parting from our friends, we proceeded on our journey, and having travelled five hours, reached Upper Gibba, which lies a few miles to the westward of the place bearing the same name which I have before described. The Ras had ordered us a fine cow from his own farm: but instead of it they brought us so miserable an animal, that it was thought right to refuse it. This gave rise to considerable altercation, until a much better was substituted in its room. On the head man of the place being asked, why he had not complied with his orders in the first instance, he answered, very composedly, that "it

was not the Abyssinian fashion; he did not like to do any thing without a short discussion on the matter."

At half past five on the following morning, we left Gibba, and crossing the small river which passes that place, ascended up to the high district of Giralta. In our way through a highly cultivated part of the country, we met with a number of peasants engaged in celebrating a wedding. The bride and bridegroom were seated on a rude kind of throne, formed of turf and shadowed by green boughs, their companions dancing joyously round them in their usual wild and fantastic way.

Marriage, in this country, appears, generally speaking, to be a mere civil institution; the priests being rarely called in to sanction the rites. When a man is desirous of marrying a girl, he directly applies to her parents or nearest relatives, and their consent being once obtained, the matter is considered as settled, the girl herself being very seldom consulted upon the question. The next subject to be arranged is the dower which the girl is to bring, consisting of so many wakeas of gold, a certain number of cattle, musquets, or pieces of cloth: and this generally occasions, as in most other countries, very serious difficulty; the husband naturally considering the interest of his wife identified with his own in the bargain which he has to make with her parents or friends. This important point being once adjusted, no farther difficulty occurs: the friends of both parties assemble, the marriage is declared, and, after a day spent in festivity, the bride is carried to the house of her husband, either on his shoulders, or those of his friends; the mother, at parting with her daughter, strenuously enjoining the husband to a strict performance of the conjugal rites. If the husband should subsequently find just cause to doubt the integrity of his wife, the union is immediately dissolved, and the girl is sent back to her family in disgrace: on the contrary, if the proof required by the custom of the country can be produced, it is given over on the following day to the mother or nearest female relative of the bride, and is preserved as a testimony in favour of the wife, to be brought forward on any future quarrel with the husband.

The wife never changes her name: and the property received in dower is kept apart from the husband's, as

the wife becomes entitled to the whole of it, should any misbehaviour on his part compel her to quit his house. Should the parties agree to separate, terms of accommodation are settled between them; but, if the lady prove unfaithful, then the husband possesses the right of dismissing her from his house, and of retaining her dowry for his own use. Adultery, however, must be clearly proved before a husband can venture to repudiate his wife, as nothing less than being caught in the fact can justify a recourse to this extremity. In the event of their parting amicably, which is said rarely to occur, the sons remain with the father, and the daughters go away with the mother. These are the general rules which guide the conduct of the great body of the people. The chiefs of high rank, and women of quality,* may be considered, in a certain degree, as exempt from all rule, their conduct in these respects being restrained by scarcely any other laws than those which the power and consequence of their respective relatives imposes, who always interfere on such occasions as parties concerned. There exists, as I have before mentioned, a more holy kind of marriage, practised in the country, where the parties take the communion together, which is sanctioned by the priests. This, I was given to understand, becomes of rarer occurrence every year, the people, in general, preferring the simple compact, which can be dissolved at pleasure.

Having made a small present to the new-married couple, we proceeded on our journey, and at nine o'clock arrived at the church of St. Michael, (mentioned in my former journal,) situated on a lofty hill, commanding an extensive view of the adjoining country. Here we found a chieftain of some consequence, with about fifty followers, who had waited two days on this spot with the expectation of falling in with our party. They had been sent by Shum Temben Toclu, chief of the district, an old man of considerable authority in the country, to solicit us to go a few miles out of our way, and partake of

* Ozoro was formerly a title peculiar to women of high rank; but it is now become very common throughout the country, every woman of the slightest pretensions being distinguished by that appellation.

a repast that he had prepared for us. As this extraordinary attention was evidently intended to make up for the incivility shewn us at Mugga, on our entrance into Abyssinia, I thought it right to accept the invitation, and, in consequence, we rode across the country to his mansion. On our arrival, we found the old man sitting on his couch, and assuming an almost equal state with the Ras. He nevertheless paid us great attention, and ordered two cows to be killed for our entertainment. In the course of the conversation which ensued, I found him extremely sensible and well-informed; though neither he, nor his followers, bore any very high character for courage; as in the great battle with the Galla they were the only troops which shrunk from the combat. This chief, however, had evinced, during a long time, so strong an attachment to the Ras, that his weakness on that occasion was overlooked.

From the high province of Giralta, we descended the steep pass of Atbara; and about half way down arrived at a beautiful spot, whence a spring of water rises, which successively falls into several basons in the rocks, formed, in the lapse of years, by the perpetual action of the stream. These waters are held in great repute throughout the country for their sanative properties; many people of consequence resorting to them from the distant provinces; and, while we remained in the neighbourhood, an Abyssinian nymph and some of her attendants, were observed bathing in one of the basons. This spot, in itself very beautiful, was shaded by a group of lofty daro trees, and some jutting masses of rock, interspersed with shrubs and creeping plants, and fringed, near the water's edge, with several curious varieties of fern. Different parties of travellers were seen reposing among the trees: and the distant sound of a rude chorus, proceeding from some priests in a small chapel above our heads, accorded very agreeably with the surrounding scene. The distance we had to travel prevented our indulging longer in this luxurious species of repose; and we were compelled very speedily to exchange it for the toil of traversing some lower ridges of the mountain, which, in about an hour afterwards, brought us to the banks of the

river Warré, situated at a short distance from the hill and town of Gullibudda.

This place is mentioned in my former journal, as the residence of Palambaras Toclu, one of the chiefs who had always treated us with particular attention. At this time he resided at another mansion, which had been given him by the Ras, in the neighbourhood of Abba Garima; and in spite of the distance, we determined to proceed thither, that we might have the pleasure of spending a day in his company. This journey was long and fatiguing; and we had a high pass to go over, upon the top of which I collected some beautiful specimens of Gardinia, at this time (May) in blossom, though I had before found the same tree in full bloom in the middle of September. While we were passing the rocky district of Tsai, we met with a heavy shower of rain, and thence, after crossing two streams of considerable magnitude, continued our course forwards till five o'clock, when we arrived, completely worn out, at the door of our friend's mansion at Abba Tsama. The plain, immediately in front of the house, (which was watered by a clear and winding stream,) was one of the best cultivated in this part of Abyssinia; and being encircled with lofty hills and pinnacled rocks of the most picturesque forms, afforded, altogether, one of the most agreeable residences in the kingdom.

The Palambaras who was fortunately at home, came out to welcome us on our arrival, and, according to custom, immediately killed a cow, and set before us a profusion of curries, and other highly seasoned dishes, peculiar to the country. Our present host possessed the character of being one of the most jovial companions in Abyssinia. He had been in his youth an extremely handsome man, and was naturally of a gay and lively disposition; was said to have had five wives at one time, to whose company he had been devotedly attached: and he declared, that his only wish was confined to the enjoyment of the good things which this world afforded. He was accustomed to express very openly his extreme aversion from scenes of warfare; but once or twice in his life having been drawn into the necessity of fighting, he had conducted himself very gallantly; and on one oc-

casion, in the war of Hamazen, having been surprised by about a thousand of the enemy, he had beaten them off with only two hundred men, at the same time lamenting, that he had been reduced to so very disagreeable an alternative. These traits of character, as might be expected in the existing state of society in Abyssinia, had gained him the admiration and good will of the greater part of his countrymen.

On the 8th we took leave of our friendly host, and proceeded forwards to Adowa. On crossing one of the highest tracts of ground in the morning, we gained a very clear view of the mountains of Samen, bearing at that time S. W., and could plainly distinguish the snow lying in large masses on the tops of Béyeda and Amba Hai. The road to Adowa passes over several ridges of hills, and is in parts extremely difficult of ascent. In the middle of the day we stopped for an hour under a grove of daro trees, where I shot a beautiful species of Upupa, nearly allied to the Erythrynotos. At one o'clock we reached Adowa. At this place I was surprised to find that an Englishman had arrived from the coast only a few days before, which, on enquiry, proved to be Mr. Stuart. He had failed, in a great measure, in accomplishing the plan which I had proposed, of his going to Hurrur, owing to circumstances which will be hereafter detailed; and, on his return to Mocha, having met with an opportunity of crossing over to Massowa, had thought it right to come and join me, for the purpose of clearly reporting the events which had prevented his success. I could not help feeling greatly disappointed at his failure; but, on hearing Mr. Stuart's statements, I was persuaded that it had not been in his power to obviate the difficulties which he had had to encounter. I also received the unpleasant intelligence, that two packets of letters which I had dispatched to Captain Weatherhead from Chelicut, by the different routes of Massowa and Amphila, had not reached their destination; so that it became probable that the ship might not arrive on the coast by the time we should get down.

On our arrival at Adowa, we had taken up our residence in the house of the Ras, by his particular desire, where we found a lady residing, named Ozoro Sehen,

the wife of Billetana Welled Georgis, deputy governor of the province; the chief himself being then absent. We had not long taken up our quarters, before an attendant was sent by the lady, with the present of a sheep and a quantity of bread. On my requesting him, according to the custom of the country, to get permission for one of his master's people to kill the sheep, he replied, that "none of them would kill for *Christians* who eat with the Musselmauns," a practice of which he at the same time asserted, Mr. Stuart had been guilty. I was extremely alarmed at this account, knowing how fatal an act of this kind would have proved to our interests, and therefore sent immediately for Mr. Stuart and Hadjee Hamood, the person who had attended him during his journey, to enquire into the circumstances, when I was at once relieved from my apprehensions, by their jointly and positively declaring, that the whole story was absolutely without foundation; Mr. Stuart having been previously cautioned by Captain Rudland on this subject, and having, in consequence, employed a Christian to cook for him from the moment of his entrance into the country. This point being clearly ascertained, I directed Mr. Pearce to speak in very severe terms to Welled Georgis's servant, and ordered him instantly to take away both the sheep and the bread, declaring that I would not accept of a single article from his master, until a proper apology should have been made for this impertinence.

We did not, however, long remain unprovided; for shortly afterwards, a great profusion of viands was sent us by two Greeks, resident in the town, one of whom, a very old man, named Sydee Paulus, was father-in-law to Mr. Pearce. The other, named Apostoli, was a man of considerable wealth and consequence, who had chiefly resided at Adowa for the last forty years, though, during the time of my former visit, he had been absent on a journey to Constantinople, it being a practice with the Greeks trading in Abyssinia to go over occasionally to that place, for the purpose of settling their commercial concerns. In the course of the same day, these two Greeks paid me a visit, and I have seldom been acquainted with more venerable or respectable looking men. The elder was exceedingly infirm, and appeared to be

nearly blind; so that it was with some difficulty that he could be brought up, on a mule, into the room in which we were sitting. On being seated, he expressed great anxiety to examine my features, and repeatedly enquired whether I was any relation of Yagoube (Mr. Bruce.) He afterwards conversed with me for some time respecting that traveller, and in almost every particular confirmed the account I have already quoted upon the authority of Dofter Esther. He related in addition, that the Emperor, Tecla Haimanout, never paid much attention to Mr. Bruce, till after "his shooting through a table with a candle," (a fact which I had never before heard mentioned in the country,) when he became a great favourite, and was called "Balomaal." He added, that on a particular occasion, the Emperor took a fancy to his watch, and asked him for it; but that Mr. B. refused, and said abruptly: "is it the custom in this kingdom for a king to beg?" which answer made a great noise throughout the country. Sydee Paulus had been fifty years in Abyssinia. Apostoli had never seen Mr. Bruce, but said he had often conversed with Janni respecting his visit to the country, who had always spoken of him with great respect.

On the 9th of May we left Adowa on an excursion to Axum, probably about twelve miles distant, in a due west direction. The road to this place passes through some fine valleys which intersect several lofty ranges of hills, on one of which, to the right, stands the celebrated church of Hannes; and, within a few miles of Axum, lies an extensive and highly cultivated plain, on the surface of which numerous specimens of different coloured spars and agates were found. The town of Axum itself is very agreeably situated in a corner of the plain sheltered by the adjacent hills. On approaching it, the first object which excites attention is a small plain obelisk, at the foot of a hill, on the right hand, at the top of which stands the monastery of Abba Pantaleon, and immediately opposite is found the large square stone with the inscription in Greek which I had before deciphered. After passing between these, the town and church begin to make their appearance, and, upon inclining a little to the northward, leaving a number of broken pedestals on the left hand, a full view of the large obelisk is presented, standing close

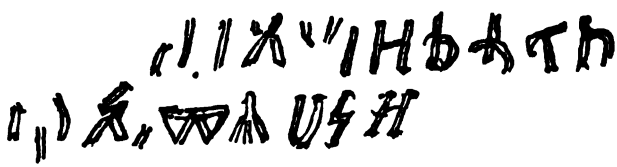
to an immense daro tree, of which two different views have been given in former publications. To these I have no corrections to make, and shall only remark, that, by a slight mistake of the engraver, the patera on the top of the obelisk in Lord Valentia's work is delineated as rather pointed, whereas it ought to have been round, as it is rightly represented in my larger views.

This highly wrought and very magnificent work of art, formed of a single block of granite, and measuring full sixty feet in height, produced nearly as forcible an impression on my mind as on the first moment I beheld it: and I felt even more inclined to admire the consummate skill and ingenuity displayed in erecting so stupendous a work, owing to my having compared the design (during the interval which had elapsed since my former visit) with many of Egyptian, Grecian and Roman structure; a comparison which seemed to justify me in considering it as the most admirable and perfect monument of its kind. All its ornaments are very boldly relieved, which, together with the hollow space running up the centre and the patera at top, give a lightness and elegance to the whole form that is probably unrivalled. Several other obelisks lie broken on the ground, at no great distance, one of which is of still larger dimensions. With respect to the antiquity of these monuments, I cannot speak with any degree of certainty: but I should conjecture that they could not have been erected prior to the time of the Ptolemies, as the order of the architecture is strictly Grecian, and was, therefore, not likely to have been introduced at an earlier period. The tradition of the country ascribes them to the reign of the Emperor Acizana which was upwards of three hundred years after Christ: but I should rather be inclined to believe that the workmen of that age were scarcely equal to complete so chaste and highly finished an undertaking. There cannot, however, I conceive, exist a doubt but that they were erected by Grecian workmen from Egypt; as it is known to have been the universal practice of the Emperors of Abyssinia to employ foreign artificers from that country, a circumstance proved by the excavations before described in Lasta and other parts of Abyssinia.

From the obelisk we proceeded to the church, and again examined the short Ethiopic inscription which I

had before copied; and I was still more strongly confirmed in my original opinion, that it contains the identical characters seen by Mr. Bruce, which he "restored," or rather *converted* into Greek, as they are inscribed on the footstool of a kind of throne or altar, where "the feet would naturally rest," (which stone, however, is certainly of granite, and not "of freestone,") whereas on the one where "the King was usually crowned," standing about thirty yards distant from the other, there could not be found the slightest trace of a single letter. Mr. Bruce mentions, in corroboration of his inscription, that Mr. Poncet had seen it; and that he had mistaken the last word "ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ" for Basilius:* but, after carefully looking over the original edition of Mr. Poncet's work in French, as well as in the English translation, I found that there was not the slightest mention of any such characters or inscription throughout his Journal. The larger Greek inscription which I discovered had, indeed, been frequently noticed by those Jesuits who travelled in the country, one of whom actually remarks his having made out the word "Basilius;" so that it was probably upon this latter circumstance that Mr. Bruce founded his erroneous conjecture.

Mr. Smith and Mr. Stuart, who both assisted me in my examination of these ruins, perfectly agreed with me upon the subject, and the latter had previously traced the characters I have mentioned during a journey which he had made to Axum a few days before he met me at Adowa, and in the attempt, though he was not particularly successful, a sufficient number of the letters were made out, to prove them Ethiopic. In consequence, I have thought it right to give a fac-simile of his performance, notwithstanding that I consider my own copy in Lord Valentia's work to be the more correct of the two.

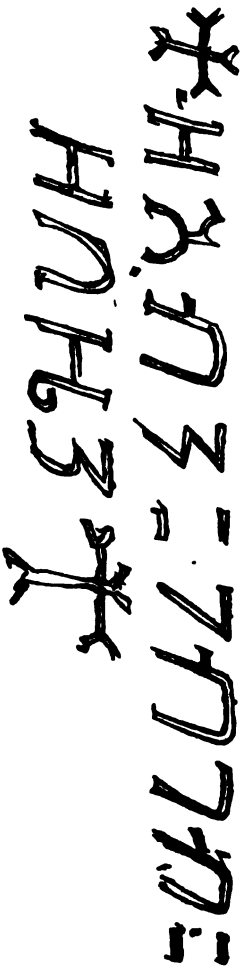


I must observe, that Mr. Stuart, in making out these letters, copied them the wrong side upwards, and that,

* Vide Vol. IV. p. 323.

from the difficulty of tracing them, he has omitted a large portion of the characters with which the inscription commences.

From this part of the ruins, a small gateway leads to the church, which latter still appears to be kept up with considerable attention, though the steps in front of the portico, which are evidently remains connected with some more ancient structure, are falling fast to ruin. In a wall to the right, on a narrow projecting stone, is inscribed a short Ethiopic inscription, said to be very ancient, a copy of which is here given.



Za-eb-ne gu-be-gube za-bá-zi-ne.*

* The initial and final characters are merely crosses without any particular meaning.

Which I should translate, "This is the sepulchral stone of Bazen:" "ebne" signifying a "stone;" gube, a "grave;" and "Bazen" being the name of several of the Abyssinian kings, while the "za" prefixed to two of the words, in one case expresses the relative "this," and in the other acts as the sign of the genitive case. I offer these conjectures with considerable hesitation, from my possessing a very imperfect knowledge only of the language, and from my not being acquainted, unfortunately, with any person who could assist me in this undertaking, since the death of my friend Mr. Murray, whose extraordinary acquirements in Eastern literature, will not, I am afraid, be easily replaced. It is a singular circumstance, that the stone above described contains the only epitaph which I have ever met with in Abyssinia.

On our return from the church, I noticed in the pavement over which we were passing, a fragment of a flat stone, on the surface of which was carved the representation of two spear-heads, and some other ornaments. There were likewise two lions' heads, in stone-work, fixed in a modern wall outside of the church, which probably once served as spouts to a fountain, each having an open space cut through it, for the purpose of affording a passage to the water. During our excursion to examine these remains, we found the people extremely insolent and unruly, instigated, as I conceive, in a great measure by the priests,* who, throughout, seemed to have entertained great jealousy respecting our visit to the country: and at last they became so troublesome, that it became necessary for Mr. Pearce to lay hold of one of them, and to tie him to an attendant whom we had brought with us, to answer for his conduct before the Ras.

Having before noticed the practice of tying the garments of offenders, I may here take occasion to mention, that this singular custom appears to me to elucidate very clearly a passage in the Old Testament, which always struck me before as attended with considerable ob-

* From the civility I had before met with at Axum, I had reason to be surprised at this change in their behaviour; but I imagine that it proceeded from their extreme jealousy of the priests at Chelicut, whom they consider as their rivals in the favour of the Ras.

security. The circumstance I allude to, relates to the story of Potiphar's wife and Joseph, in which it is mentioned, that when she could not prevail upon him to comply with her desires, "she caught him by the garment, and said, 'Lie with me!' and he left his garment in her hand and fled, and got him out;" and when she accused Joseph to her husband, she produced the garment as an evidence of his guilt, saying, "The Hebrew servant which thou hast brought unto us, came in unto me to mock me: and it came to pass as I lifted up my voice and cried, *that he left his garment* with me and fled out," and immediately on hearing these words "Potiphar's wrath was kindled," and Joseph was consigned to a prison. Now, it appears, upon reading this without explanation, that Potiphar, who seems to have been a good man, acted on this occasion, with extreme injustice, as he does not seem to have made any enquiry into Joseph's guilt, but at once, on the assertion of his wife, commits him to a prison. On the contrary, if the same custom as the one which is now general in Abyssinia, at that time prevailed in Egypt, it will be seen that Potiphar acted justly, according to the established rule of the country, it being *always considered as a sure proof of guilt*, which requires no further evidence to be adduced, if a man, after being once laid hold of, runs away *and leaves his garment behind.**

The troublesome behaviour of the inhabitants above mentioned, (which we found to be in a great measure owing to the absence of the Nebrit or ruler of the district,) made our stay at Axum so unpleasant, that I determined to lose no time in examining the Greek inscription, and thence to return with the least possible delay to Adowa. With this view I proceeded, accompanied by a rude crowd of the inhabitants, to the stone bearing the inscription, which I found exactly in the same state as when I previously visited Axum. I immediately re-copied very carefully every letter, and in going over it, I

* It has been observed to me, that the testimony of the wife alone might have been sufficient to justify Potiphar's conduct; but if the reader will look over the story carefully, as it is delivered in the 39th chapter of Genesis, he will find, (if I am not mistaken,) that a very particular stress is laid upon "leaving the garment in her hands," especially in verse 13. At all events I hope to be excused for offering the conjecture.

was gratified in finding that the greater part of the conjectures I had ventured to make on a former occasion, were confirmed, particularly throughout the first line, so that I am now enabled to give a copy of the whole corrected finally on the spot, and to this I have been induced to add a translation, for the satisfaction of my readers, though it has before been given with a very slight variation in Lord Valentia's Travels.

Translation of the Axum Inscription.

(We) Aeizanas King of the Axomites and
of the Homerites, and of Raeidan,† and of the Æthiopians and of the Sabeans, and of Zeyla,
and of Tiamo and the Bója, and of the Taguie,‡ king of kings,§ son of God,
the invincible Mars—having rebelled,
on an occasion, the nation of the Boja,
We sent our brothers,
Saiazana and Adephas
to make war upon them, and upon
their surrender, (our brothers) after subduing them,
brought them to us, with their families;
of their oxen, *112, and of their sheep
7424, and their beasts bearing burdens;
nourishing them with the flesh of oxen, and giving them a supply of bread, and affording them to drink
beer (sowa,‖) and wine (maiz,¶) and water in abundance.
Who (the prisoners) were in number six chiefs,
with their multitude in number * * *
making them bread every day, of wheaten cakes, * 2 *, and giving them wine for a month,
until the time that they brought them to us;
whom, therefore, supplying with all things

† This place is mentioned by Louis Barthema, who calls it Rhada, and describes it to be three days journey from Sana. (Itinerario, p. 21.)

‡ The Boja and the Taguie, are tribes still found to the northward of Abyssinia; so that it appears to have been only a partial conquest.

§ This precisely answers to the Negush-Negashi, which still continues to be the title of the Abyssinian Emperors.

‖ The common drink of the lower classes in Abyssinia; it is made of the remains of bread which are preserved from their tables, and a portion of parched barley.

¶ Maiz is prepared with honey, fermented with barley, and strengthened with a bitter root called Sadoo.

fit, and clothing, we compelled to change their
abode, and sent them to a certain place of our
country called M———a, and we ordered them
again to be supplied with bread, furnishing
to their six chiefs oxen 4*.
In grateful acknowledgment to him who begat me,
the invincible Mars,†
I have dedicated to him a golden statue, and one
of silver, and three of brass, for good.

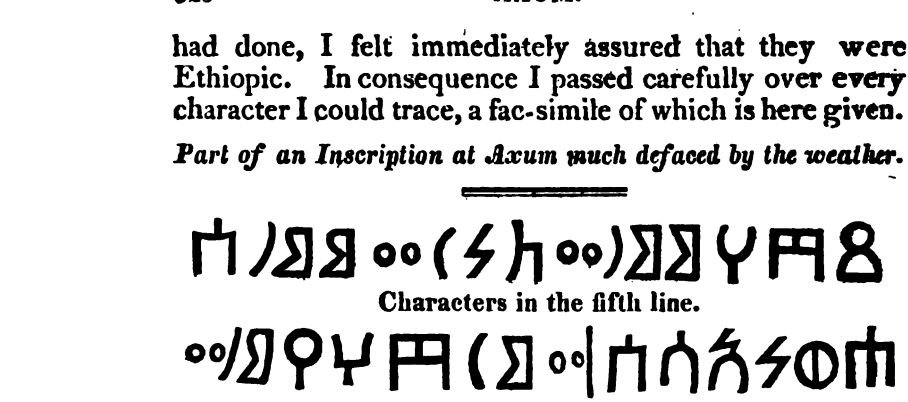
I have only a few remarks to make in addition to those which I before submitted to the public on this subject. The chief importance of this inscription must be considered as relating to the history of the country, upon which I shall hereafter introduce a few cursory observations. With respect to the tribe of the ΒΟΥΓΑΕΙΤΩΝ, the conquest of which constitutes the main subject of this inscription, it appears that it is still found under the name of the Boja, inhabiting a district two days journey northward of Hamazen, and is partially under the influence of the Nayib of Massowa and of a Christian chief; the natives themselves being half Musselmauns, and half Christians. Still farther to the north, resides a people called Taguié, which in all probability answers the "ΤΟΚΑΕΟΥ," mentioned in the inscription. The numerals which occur in the inscription were supposed, in my former account, "to be inexplicable:" but I cannot help feeling assured, that they also are Greek, as indeed the r in the last line, before translated "three," seemed to prove. I should therefore explain the figures in line 13 to consist of an unknown letter, expressing thousands, rho, iota and beta, or 112; those in 14, to be zeta, upsilon, kappa, and delta, or 7424; but the rest I must still leave to the ingenuity of some person more skilled than myself in the art of deciphering numbers.

During the time that I had been engaged in revising the Greek characters, Mr. Stuart, at my request, had been endeavouring to make out some of the smaller letters on the opposite side of the stone: and on examining what he

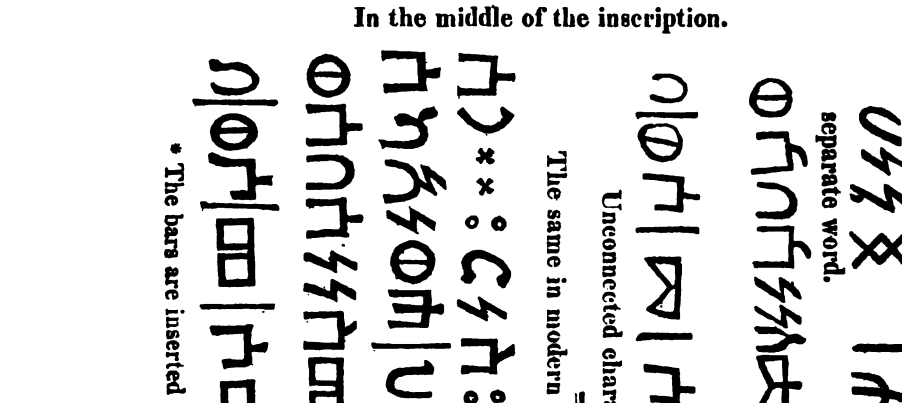
† In the Greek it is "υπερ δι ευχαριστιας τυ εμε γεννησαντος ανικητυ Αρεως;" so in the Adulic inscription—Δι' ἣν ἔχω τον μέγιστον θεόν με Αρην ἐυχαριστίαν δε με καὶ γεννησε, a conformity that is very remarkable.

had done, I felt immediately assured that they were Ethiopic. In consequence I passed carefully over every character I could trace, a fac-simile of which is here given.

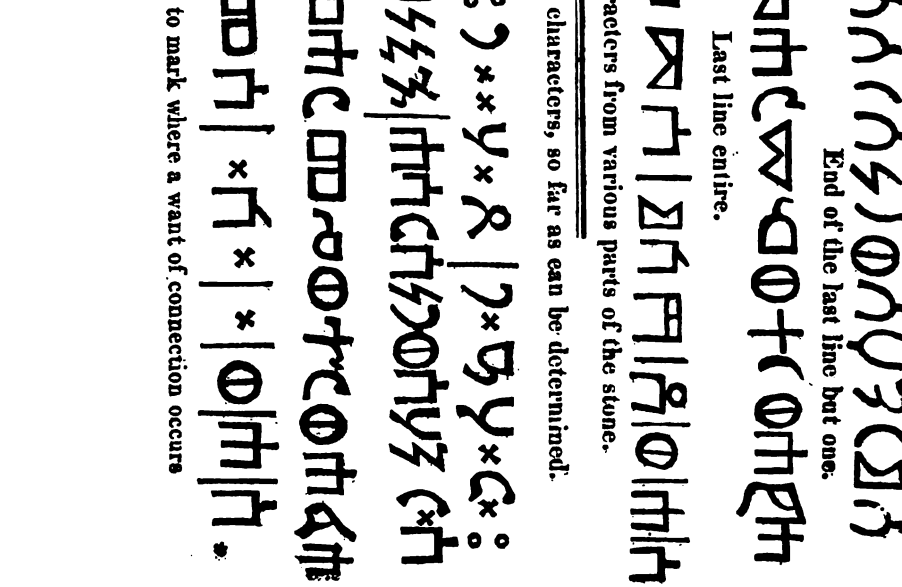
Part of an Inscription at Axum much defaced by the weather.



Characters in the fifth line.



In the middle of the inscription.



End of the last line but one.

separate word.

Last line entire.

Unconnected characters from various parts of the stone.

The same in modern characters, so far as can be determined.

* The bars are inserted to mark where a want of connection occurs

Notwithstanding the characters differ materially from those now employed, yet it is certain that they are Ethiopic, from most of the letters precisely resembling those in the present alphabet, and from the circumstance of the words in the early part of the inscription being separated by two round dots (°°,) placed horizontally indeed, though it is now the practice to mark them perpendicularly (⁘;) this slight variation, however, in their position, cannot make any difference in the sense to which they were intended to be applied.

If it could be ascertained that these characters were cut at the same time with the Greek inscription on the opposite side of the stone, which appears to me extremely probable, it would lead to a very important result, as it would decide the fact, that they were the native characters in use during the reign of Aeizana, a circumstance that must tend strongly to disprove the idea hitherto entertained of the Ceez alphabet, as well as that of the Coptic, being borrowed from the Greek; (vide Mr. Murray's remark in Bruce, Vol. II. p. 402,) a point that I have always considered as extremely improbable.* I should myself feel much more inclined to think, that it may have derived its origin from some ancient Ethiopic or Egyptian set of letters; for where can we expect to find the alphabet of either nation with so much probability as in Abyssinia, among a people not only calling itself Ethiopic, ሕትዮጵያ, but exhibiting the fairest claim to that descent, and which afterwards, as is clearly pointed out in history, became mixed with settlers from Egypt.

That the language spoken in the country at a very early period was partly the same with that now in use I have been enabled to ascertain, from a very curious fact which I have lately met with in the course of my researches. Cosmas, a Greek writer, who visited Adulis, and discovered the Greek inscription relating to the affairs of Abyssinia, gives, in his elaborate treatise "on the World," a description of several animals which he

* M. Ludolf seems to entertain a more just opinion, that the character is very ancient, and gives as a reason, the sound of some of them being *lost*, or confounded with others. Vide Hist. Ethiop. Vol. IV. c. 1.

met with in Abyssinia. Among these, he has very accurately described the two-horned rhinoceros, which appears to be peculiar to Africa; and he mentions, that the Ethiopians called it in their own dialect ἄρου ἢ ἄρισι, or aru e hareese, aspirating the second alpha, and adding to it the ρισι, or reese; that by ἄρου was expressed the generic term of wild beast (θηρίον,) and that the epithet ἄρισι was subjoined, on account of the furrowed shape of the nostrils, together with that of the skin.* Now it is very remarkable, that the name of this animal, used throughout Abyssinia at the present day, is precisely similar to that given by Cosmas. In the Geez character it is written ሐርዌ፡ኃሪስ፡ Arwê hàris,‡ and it is pronounced with a strong aspirate on the "ha," and a slight one, peculiar to the language, after the final syllable, as I have remarked in a copy of Ludolf's History, which I took

* Τουτο τὸ ζῶον καλειται Ῥινόκερως, διὰ τον ἐν τοῖς μυκτηρσι τὰ κέρατα ἔχειν, ὅτε δὲ περιπατεῖ σαλέυονται τὰ κέρατα·† ὅτε δὲ ὁρᾶ μετὰ θυμοῦ αποτεινει αὐτὰ, καὶ ἀσάλευτα εὑρισκονται, ὥςι και δένδρα δυνάσθαι ἐκριζειν, τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς μάλιςα τὸ ἔμπροσθεν. τοις δε οφθαλμοὶς κάτω περὶ τὰς γνάθοις ἔχει —οἱ πόδες δε καὶ τό δερμα παραπλησιά ἐςι τῶ ἐλέφαντι. ἔχει δε καὶ το πάχος τοῦ δέρματος αὐτυ ξηραινόμενον δακτύλοις τέσσαρας—καλυσι δὲ αὐτοι οἱ Αἰθίοπες τη ἰδία διαλέκτῳ, ἄρου ἢ ἄρισι, δασυνόντες τὸν δεύτερον ἄλφα, καὶ οὕτω προςιθέντες τον ρισί· ἵνα διὰ τοῦ μὲν ἄρου, ἢ τον θηρίον, δια δὲ τοῦ ἄρισι, ἐποτρῖαν εκ τοῦ σχηματος τοῦ περὶ τοὶς ῥάθωνας, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοῦ δέρματος τὴν ἐπωνομίαν αὐτῳ τεθεικότες. τεθέαμαι δὲ καὶ ζῶντα ἐν τη Αἰθιοπίᾳ ἀπὸ μακρὰν ἱςάμενος, καὶ νεκρὸν εκδαρέν καὶ καταλγισθὲν ἄχυρα καὶ ἱςάμενον ἐν ὄικῳ βασιλικῶ, ὅθεν ἀκριβῶς κατέγραψα.§

‡ In Amharic it is ሐዋሪ፡ኃሪስ—aweer haris. Vide Ludolf, l. 1. c. 10, 78.

† This power of relaxing the position of the horns is mentioned by Sparman, who says, that the Hottentots told him, "que quand il marche tranquillement on les voit balotter, et on les entend de heurter et claquer l'une contre l'autre," (see Voyage au Cap de Bonne Esperance, Vol. II. p. 307:) and this was certainly confirmed to me by several natives of Africa who had seen the animal alive, one of whom in particular (a Somauli) gave me the following description of it, "that when feeding in the fields undisturbed, the horns are often depressed (which he shewed with his hand on his head, inclined in an angle of about forty-five;) but when alarmed, (raising his hand to a perpendicular over his head) the animal erects them thus."

§ Vide p. 334. Cosmæ Indicopleustæ Christian. Opinio de Mundo. L. i. in Montfaucon.

with me into Abyssinia; arwê still signifying "fera" or "bestia in genere," a coincidence so uncommon, that it appears to me very satisfactorily to prove, that the language spoken at the court of Axum in the time of Cosmas was Geez.

The remarks made by Cosmas on this subject, and the deductions they lead to, are likewise of considerable importance, from their tending to give a more correct notion of the pronunciation of those particular Greek letters, employed in spelling these words, than we before possessed; as the Abyssinian language, from its peculiar formation, (every sound being exactly expressed in the writing,) is not liable to the same corruption which has attended the Greek. It will be seen by a reference to "Montfaucon's Nova Collectio Patrum," whence I have extracted the passage, that the Latin translator mistook the "ἢ" for a word expressing "aut," and therefore supposed ἄρυ and ἄρυσι to be two different names, applied to the same animal; a mistake that almost any commentator might have fallen into, who had not been previously aware of its connection with the Geez language. It is also singular that Ludolf, to whom this animal was mentioned by Gregory, should not have discovered that it was the rhinoceros; on the contrary, he supposed it to have been the حريش of the Arabs, or "unicorn, said to be a species of goat of extraordinary swiftness," a conjecture in which he was most certainly mistaken.

Before we had completed our labour of copying the characters, the chief of the district, Nebrid Isgêre Barea, made his appearance, with a large party of his followers, riding hastily over the plain: and, in consequence of his urgent request, we consented to alter our previous intention, and return to Axum, where we remained with him the rest of the day. He treated us with the kindest hospitality, and introduced us to his family, consisting of his wife and one daughter. The retired manners and modest behaviour of the latter, confirmed me strongly in the opinion, that the females in Abyssinia are generally well educated, and, before marriage, very superior in character to those of maturer years, who, after marriage, have been accustomed to mingle with greater freedom in so-

ciety, and to allow themselves, perhaps, too great a latitude of conduct.

On the following morning we set out at day-light, and once more proceeding to the stone with the Greek inscription, again went over the work of the preceding day, and made out all the additional Ethiopic characters which could be traced. Our success, however, was not very great, for though the inscription occupied the whole surface of the stone, being fully as long as the Greek one on the lower side, it had been so much effaced by the effects of the weather, owing to its reclined position, that we only found the last line entire, the rest of the characters which are given, being taken from different parts of the inscription, wherever they could be ascertained. Still, however, I conceive, that if a person could reside at Axum for any time, and find leisure to visit the stone at different hours of the day, he might, with great attention and perseverance, be able to make out a very considerable portion of the inscription.

Having attained our object, we proceeded on the road to Adowa, across the extensive plain surrounding Axum, which, at this time, the inhabitants were busily engaged in ploughing: the air of the morning was moist and chilly: and a thick vapour hung over the mountains of Samen, which, nevertheless, could be plainly distinguished in the distance. In the course of this day's journey, we met with several large droves of cattle, which, on enquiry, I found were proceeding to Walkayt, where they are said to be very advantageously exchanged for a coarse kind of cloth, manufactured in that province. At a few miles from Adowa, we discovered a new and beautiful species of amaryllis, which bore from ten to twelve spikes of bloom on each stem, as large as those of the "bella donna," springing from one common receptacle. The general colour of the corolla was white, and every petal was marked with a single streak of bright purple down the middle. The flower was sweet-scented: and its smell, though much more powerful, resembled that of the lily of the valley. This superb plant excited the admiration of the whole party, and it brought immediately to my recollection the beautiful comparison used, on a particu-

lar occasion, by Our Saviour; "yet I say unto you, that Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these." We subsequently, with considerable trouble, dug up a few of the bulbs, which were rooted full two feet deep in rocky ground, some of which I was fortunate enough to bring safe to England, where they have since flourished, though they have not yet produced any flowers.

On reaching Adowa, we found that Billetana Welled Georgis, who had returned home, was waiting our arrival, and after changing our dress, we proceeded to pay him a visit. We found him in a summer apartment, constructed of canes; his wife, who was present, being seated behind a small curtain on his left. A few compliments ensued, and a repast was served up, as usual, during which our host spoke but little, and conducted himself with considerable reserve. Shortly afterwards a dispute took place between him and Mr. Pearce respecting our mules; the chief wishing to give shelter to mine only, which had been given me by the Ras, and to send the others out into the fields, an intention which Mr. Pearce warmly resisted, declaring himself as "a servant of the Ras," (for even the Billetana could pretend to no higher distinction) equally entitled to the privilege of keeping his mule in the Ras's house. Not being pleased with this kind of altercation, and observing a more than usual coldness in the chief's behaviour, I rose immediately after the meat had been removed, and took my leave. I had scarcely, however, reached my own apartments, when several messengers were sent after me, requesting to know the cause of my displeasure. I mentioned, in answer, that "it arose from the affront received two days before from one of his servants, and from the coolness with which I had this day been treated, circumstances that I was not accustomed to put up with." I informed him, that "the Ras had always conducted himself towards me in a very different manner, and that I certainly did not feel disposed to yield to another a superiority which I should (had it been required) have denied to him." This message, I believe, alarmed the young chief; for in a few minutes afterwards he paid me a visit, made many apologies for what had happened, declaring that it was

only his manner, and that he should have acted in a very different way when his people had been withdrawn;" telling me at the same time, that "he had put his servant into confinement who had behaved with so much insolence on our first arrival at Adowa; and that he therefore hoped I would overlook the past, and be friends." Having accomplished my purpose, by shewing what I conceived might prove a salutary lesson to the Baharnegash, and the other Abyssinians present, who were to attend us to the coast, I consented to overlook what had occurred, and thenceforth every thing went on satisfactorily on both sides. A fresh repast was prepared in the evening, at which the lady made her appearance: and our host himself exhibited a liveliness of humour, and an alteration in his manner, that satisfied me at once that his rude behaviour in the morning had, from some unknown cause, been intentional.

On the following day, during our stay at Adowa, I was requested to pay a visit to a sick man, supposed to be at the point of death: but before I could reach him he was no more. The disease with which he had been afflicted, is called Tigre-tér, a species of fever, for which the remedy in use among the Abyssinians is somewhat extraordinary. On a person being seized with this complaint, the relatives expose to his sight all the ornaments of gold, silver, and fine clothes which their respective friends can collect, making at the same time as much noise as possible with drums, trumpets and vociferous outcries, which is practised with a view, as far as I could ascertain, "of driving the devil out of the patient;" the Abyssinians, in general, entertaining a rooted belief that most diseases are occasioned by the afflicted party's "being possessed with an evil spirit." So soon, however, as the person approaches the moment of death, the drums and trumpets cease, and a mournful howl is set up by all the friends present, who, on the death being announced, tear their hair, scratch the skin from their temples, and cast themselves sobbing and screaming to the ground, in all the agony of despair, as if the existence of the whole universe was connected with his fate. Not only the relations of the deceased express their grief in this violent manner, but the neighbours and acquaintance of the par-

ty, and those dependent even on the same master; so that the horrible confusion which for a time prevails is scarcely to be described.

Soon after death, the body is carefully washed, fumigated with incense, and sewed up in one of the cloths which the deceased wore when alive, and is immediately carried to the grave; the relations themselves bearing it on their shoulders in haste to the burying ground; and while it is depositing in the earth, the priests recite over it an appointed form of prayer for the occasion.

On the following day, or so soon as all the relations and friends of the deceased can be assembled, they proceed to the celebration of the "toscar," or "feast in honour of the dead." When the relations are people of consequence, an image is dressed out in rich garments to represent the deceased, which, being placed on his favourite mule, is carried in procession through the town or village near his residence to the tomb, all his other horses and mules following, decked out in gay ornaments and apparel, collected during his life time, according to custom, for this particular purpose. A number of hired female mourners attend this procession, who, while it passes along, continually keep up a kind of fearful howl, calling at times upon the deceased by name, and crying out, "why did you leave us? had you not houses and lands? had not you a wife that loved you?" and, by a number of similar complaints, accusing him of unkindness in leaving his friends. On reaching the tomb, the cries and lamentations are redoubled: and these mixed with the "hallelujahs" of the priests and the screams of the relatives, who again are seen tearing the skin from their faces, produce a terrible kind of concert, which may be justly said to

"Embowel with outrageous noise the air." MILTON.

When this part of the ceremony is concluded, the whole company returns to the mansion of the deceased, where a number of cattle are killed for the consumption of the attending crowd, and an abundant quantity of maiz and soua is served out, which generally proves amply sufficient to intoxicate the whole party. This strange kind of commemoration is at certain intervals renewed; every near relation in the course of the following

year striving to outvie the others in the splendour of the entertainment which he gives in honour of the deceased, and in the frequency of the lamenting visits which he makes to the tomb. An attendance at these meetings is considered as the highest compliment which can be paid to a family; but some of the more sensible of the priesthood, as well as of the nobility, have been known to express their disapprobation of the whole ceremony; the Ras himself, since his accession to power, having attended only three, two of which were those of his brothers, and the other being that of Fit-Aurari Zogo. The superior classes of inhabitants, I may also observe, never mutilate their temples by tearing off the skin, nor do they otherwise go into any extraordinary excess of grief on these occasions.

As Adowa may be considered a town of great importance in the country, I shall here give a short description of it, to which may be properly added a few remarks respecting its trade.

The town of Adowa is situated partly on the side, and partly at the bottom of a hill, a circumstance very unusual in Abyssinia; and the houses, which are all of a conical form, are pretty regularly disposed into streets or allies, interspersed with wanzy trees and small gardens, some of which are cultivated with considerable care; the town itself being plentifully supplied with water from three streams, which take their course through the valley below. The number of residents in this place, may, on a general calculation, be estimated at full eight thousand, as I reckoned in it more than eight hundred habitations; each of which, on a moderate computation, being supposed to contain ten inmates, would altogether amount to a sum probably falling short of the actual population. Adowa may be regarded as the chief mart for commerce on the eastern side of the Tacazze, all the intercourse between the interior provinces and the coast being carried on through the merchants residing at that place, in consequence of which the Mahomedans there have retained a greater degree of importance, than in any other part of the empire, the trade, as I have before remarked, resting almost entirely in their hands.

The chief production of Adowa consists in a manufactory of coarse and fine cloths; the former being consi-

dered unrivalled in any other part of the country, and the latter being thought little inferior to those manufactured at Gondar. The quantity of cloth made at Adowa occasions a great demand for cotton, a considerable portion of which is procured from the low countries bordering on the Tacazze: and this is considered of a finer quality, and consequently more valuable, than that brought up from Massowa. The latter, notwithstanding, finds a ready sale, and though its importation be hampered by arbitrary exactions on the road, and a heavy duty on its being landed, sells to a considerable profit. The other imports, which pass through Adowa for the Gondar market, are lead, (in small quantities) block tin, copper, and gold foil; small Persian carpets, of a shewy pattern and of low price, raw silks from China, a few velvets, French broad cloths, and different coloured skins from Egypt; glass ware and beads, which find their way from Venice, and a number of other petty articles, which are brought by different conveyances to Jidda.

The exports which are carried down to the coast in return, most of which pass through the hands of the traders at Adowa, consist of ivory, gold, and slaves; a very considerable quantity of the first article is procured in the province of Walkayt, and in the low country northward of Shiré: and the sale of it is so certain at Massowa, that the price at Adowa only differs in the expenses of carriage being deducted. A great part of the gold collected in the interior finds also its way through Adowa; but this commerce is carried on by the traders with so much secrecy, that it is impossible to form any accurate estimate of the quantity. The number of slaves exported, may be computed annually at about a thousand, part of whom are sent to Massowa, and the rest to the small ports northward of that place, whence they are privately shipped off by the natives, for the purpose of avoiding the duties levied by the Nayib. The provinces to the south of Adowa chiefly abound in cattle and corn, which, together with the salt procured on the borders, constitute their chief articles of barter. There is a manufactory of small carpets carried on in the province of Samen, some of which were shewn to me at Adowa: and they really were much superior to what might have been expected,

as the production of Abyssinian workmanship. At Axum, and in its neighbourhood, the inhabitants are celebrated for the manner in which they prepare skins for making parchment: and they likewise particularly excel in finishing this article for use. The working of iron and brass is general throughout the country; but the more highly finished chains, wrought from the last material, are brought into the country from the south, and are said to be manufactured among the Galla.

All workers in iron are called Búda by the Abyssinians: and a very strange superstition is attached to this employment; every man engaged in the occupation being supposed to possess a power of transforming himself at night into an hyæna, during which he is thought to be capable of preying even upon human flesh; and it is further believed, that if during the period of his transformation he should experience any bodily injury, a corresponding wound would be found on his proper frame. The credit attached to these fabulous ideas appears to be inconceivably strong throughout the country. I was not aware until my return, that a very similar superstition existed among the Greeks as well as the Romans, with respect to men turning themselves into wolves.* Pliny calls the persons possessing this power of transformation "versipelles," remarking that "it is a fabulous opinion not worthy of credit:" (vide Hist. Nat. Lib. VIII. c. xxii.) He afterwards explains more particularly the popular belief on this head, and makes mention, from a Greek author, "of a man who lived nine years in the form of a wolf;" adding, "but it is astonishing how far the Greeks carried their credulity; for there is no falsehood, however impudent, that wants its testimony among them."†

* The "hyænas," at the Cape of Good Hope, are always called by the inhabitants "wolves."

† The following passages extracted from Petronius, give a very complete view of this singular superstition. "Deinde ut respexi comitem ille exsuit se; omnia vestimenta secundum viam posuit. Stabam tamquam mortuus—at ille circumminxit vestimenta sua, et subito lupus factus est. Postquam lupus factus est, ululare cœpit, et in sylvas fugit. Ego primitus nesciebam ubi essem. Deinde accessi ut vestimenta ejus tollerem: illa autem lapidea facta sunt. Lupus villam intravit, et omnia pecora tamquam lanius sanguinem

The latitude of Adowa was deduced from the results of two meridian altitudes of stars, the declinations of which have been taken from tables brought up to the year 1810.

May 11.—Second * (ξ) in the tail of Ursa Major gave		14° 12′ 40″
Last * (Benetnach) in ditto - -		14 12 14
	2)	28 25 0
Mean latitude of Adowa		14 12 30

Mr. Bruce places the latitude of Adowa in 14° 7′ 57″, making a difference between us of about four miles and a half; which will not appear extraordinary to any person acquainted with the great improvement which has latterly taken place in the construction of mathematical instruments; the one made use of by Mr. Bruce having been a three foot quadrant, constructed in France, and mine a remarkably good sextant, manufactured by Mr. Blount. I may also remark, that as Mr. Bruce does not mention what kind of artificial horizon he used, some difference between our methods in this respect may have occasioned the trifling variation in our observations. The longitude of Adowa is laid down according to its computed distance from Dixan, which latter place I subsequently had the means of satisfactorily determining.

On the 12th we left Adowa, and proceeded on our way to the coast; Mr. Coffin and Mr. Pearce accompanying us as far as the descent into the vale of Ribierani, where they parted from our company, according to a previous arrangement agreed upon between us; owing to the Ras having expressed an anxious wish for their return; and being myself unwilling to risque their safety among the borderers, several of whom were known to be very inimical to their remaining in Abyssinia. There was something melancholy in leaving two of my countrymen in so remote a region, yet, knowing that I had done every

illis misit, nec tamen derisit. Etiamsi fugit, servus enim noster lancea collum ejus trajecit. Postquam veni in illum locum, in quo lapidea vestimenta erant facta, nihil inveni nisi sanguinem. Ut verum domum veni jacebat miles (comes) meus in lecto, et collum illius medicus curabat. Intellexi illum *versipellem*; nec postea cum illo panem gustare potui, non si me occidisses."

thing in my power to insure their welfare, and feeling confident that their stay might prove beneficial both to Abyssinia and to themselves, I could not in any degree regret the resolution they had adopted, nor the consent which I had given to their plans. We intended to have stopped for the evening at the house of Ayto Ischias, who resides at Gundufta: but finding him absent, we proceeded on to the vale of Yeeha, and soon arrived at a house belonging to the son of Konquass Aylo, where we halted for the night.

In the course of the afternoon we went about half a mile, along the banks of the river Mareb, to visit an old ruin, seen from a considerable distance, called the monastery of Abba Asfé. The chief part of the remains consists of an ancient stone building, of an oblong square shape, about sixty feet long, and forty-five wide, standing on the centre of an eminence, partly surrounded by trees, and commanding a beautiful prospect, in which the river Mareb makes a conspicuous object, winding its circuitous course through the valley. The square building bears the appearance of having been very substantially constructed. The remains of the walls, now standing, occasionally rise to the height of forty feet; measure full five feet in thickness; and are formed of large masses of stone, each about seven feet long by twenty inches broad, exactly fitted one to the other, so as scarcely to leave a visible interstice between them; no mortar or other fastening having been, as I conceive, ever made use of throughout the building. The stone composing this structure consists of a sand-stone of a light yellowish cast, covered over with a hard incrustation, which has materially served to protect the surface of the walls from the effects of the weather; so that the portion still remaining affords as perfect a specimen of plain architecture, as can be produced, perhaps, in any other part of the world.

The founder of this monastery, Abba Asfé, whose name it still retains, was one of the nine priests who went into Ethiopia from Egypt, during the early part of the sixth century, in the reign of the Emperor Ameda, one of the predecessors of Caleb, as recorded in the Abyssinian chronicles; though some later authors have attributed this event to a different period, an opinion which I

myself was led to adopt in my former journal, owing to my having relied too hastily upon the assertions of others. The statement in the chronicles must be considered, however, as the more correct, from my having lately met with a strong confirmation of the fact in a passage from a Greek author, who actually gives the name of the sovereign (Ἀνδας,) reigning in Ethiopia when those clergymen (κληρικοι) went over; a circumstance which I shall notice more at large in a short treatise which I propose to give respecting the ancient history of the country. Notwithstanding the long interval of time which this statement gives, as having elapsed since the arrival of Abba Asfé, (constituting a period of nearly one thousand three hundred years,) yet I am still led to believe, from the general appearance of the ruin, that it formed a portion of the original building, as the consequence of Abyssinia began shortly afterwards to decline.

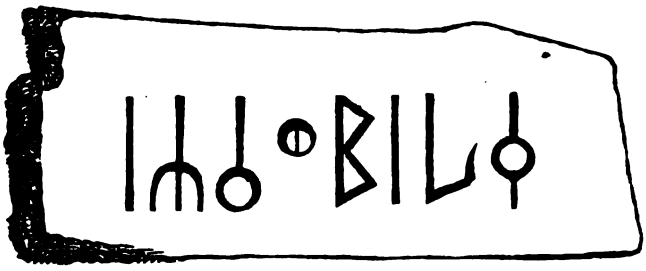
Father Alvarez, who visited this place in 1520, speaks of the building with great rapture, though even in his time it was beginning to fall into decay. He calls it Abba-facem, and after speaking of a church in its neighbourhood, says, "close to it is a very large and beautiful tower, as well for its finely proportioned height, as for its size and exquisite masonry; but it has, at length, begun to fall into decay, in spite of its being very strongly built, and of *live*-stone, covered and enriched with so much excellent work, that it displays no less than a royal grandeur, of which I have never seen its equal."*

The mention of this external ornament is valuable, from its referring in all probability, to a cincture or frieze which surrounded the upper part of the building, a few fragments of which I subsequently discovered among some adjoining heaps of stone. Of these I have given a sketch, with the characters upon them: and I have remarked, in my notes made on the spot, that "they probably formed a part of the larger building."

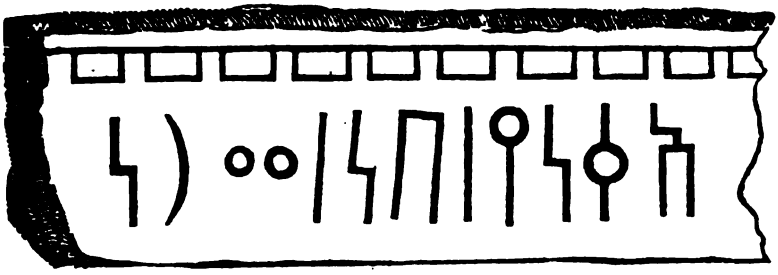
* Tout auprès de cette église est une tré grande et belle tour: tant par sa demesurée hauteur que aussi par sa grosseur et maçonnerie exquise: mais elle commençoit déja à tomber en ruine, combien qu'elle soit forte et de pierre vive couverte et enrichie de si excellens ouvrages qu'elle ne demontre rien moins, que une grandeur Royale, telement que je n'ay encores veu sa seconde.

Fragments of Inscriptions found at Yeeha, among the Ruins of the Monastery of Abba Asfé.

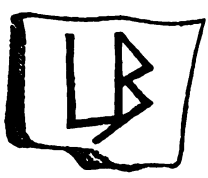
Characters cut in the stone.

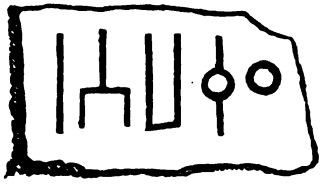


Characters raised above the surface.



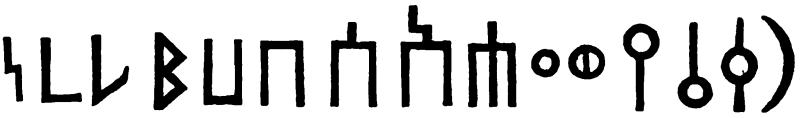
Cut in the stone.





These characters were very boldly carved, and they appeared to be as fresh and perfect as on the day they were executed, two of them being cut into the stone, and the other raised above the surface. At the first view I considered them as bearing a great resemblance to hieroglyfics, and thought that they might be intended merely as ornamental; but upon subsequent consideration, I became convinced that they formed a part of an ancient

Ethiopic alphabet, some of them being precisely the same with the letters used at the present day, and others exactly resembling those met with in the inscription at Axum. The construction of these letters might indeed almost lead to the conclusion that they constituted a portion of a primitive alphabet, the whole being easily deducible from the simplest forms, varied without any great ingenuity to express the different sounds, as may be observed in the following arrangement of them;



and I cannot therefore help entertaining the hope, that some future discoveries in Abyssinia, or the countries adjacent, may give us the whole alphabet, and lead to a satisfactory confirmation of my conjecture.

While engaged in the examination of the ruins, the priests and several of the principal inhabitants attended us, very civilly pointing out every thing worthy of notice, and assisting us in the removal of some large stones, for the purpose of promoting the objects we had in view. They related to us also, with apparent pleasure, all the traditional stories handed down from their ancestors connected with the place, which I shall comprise in a few words; "that the building we had admired was erected by an holy man, who came from Misr' a long time ago; but that the spot on which it stood, had for ages before been regarded as sacred, owing to the ark of the covenant, which had been brought into Abyssinia by Menilek, having been kept there for a considerable time previous to its removal to Axum;" which story may probably deserve about the same degree of credit as the one recorded by Alvarez, "that Yeeha was the favourite residence of Queen Candace, when she honoured the country with her presence."* After having completed our observations, and given a trifling remuneration to the attendant

* Et de fait, on dit, que la Royne de Candace avoit éleu ce lieu là pour sa demeurance à cause que sa maison n'en est pas fort eloignée (by this he meant Axum) *ce que ne semble point repugner à la verité.*

priests, we returned back to the house of Konquass Aylo, where, at dinner, we were treated with a quantity of fine grapes, of a red species, without stones, and some new wine, in the making of which, the inhabitants of this part of the country are thought particularly to excel.

On the 13th we left Yeeha, and after travelling six hours reached the village of Kella, where we remained for the night. In the evening I took two meridian altitudes of the stars, which gave the following result.

Second * in the tail of Ursa Major gave -		14° 27′ 54″
Last * Benetnach in ditto - - -		14 27 44
	2)	28 55 38
Mean latitude of Kella		14 27 49

which comes within three miles and a quarter of the latitude given by Mr. Bruce. On the following morning we proceeded on our journey, and after passing by Logo, Abha, and the district of Kantiba Socinius, on the 16th reached Dixan, where we felt greatly disappointed at finding that no intelligence had yet been received respecting the arrival of our ship at Massowa. In consequence of this, we determined to remain a few days, and in the meanwhile took up our residence in the same habitation which we had before occupied; the Baharnegash Yasous promising to do every thing in his power to render our stay agreeable.

On the 17th, a respectable man named Hadjee Hamed came up from Massowa for the purpose of offering us his services during our passage down to the coast. He informed me that Shum Hummar was waiting at the bottom of Taranta for the purpose of escorting us to Arkeeko, and that a larger number than usual of the Hazorta appeared to be collecting at that spot.

In the course of the following day I found that the Baharnegash became very uneasy on this subject; and at last I discovered that it was not only true that the Hazorta had assembled in force at the foot of the mountains, but that they had sent up messengers to demand a sum of money, without which they were determined we should not pass through their district. As the Baharnegash had been made answerable by the Ras for our safety, I affected extreme indifference about the matter; and de-

clared that I would not advance any thing more than a few dollars, as I had done on our way up into the country, being unwilling to establish a precedent for so unjust an exaction. In answer to this, he informed me that there was another track through the mountains, by Assauli, which he felt inclined to prefer; but that before he could determine upon the propriety of adopting it, a messenger must be sent down to communicate with a chief who commanded the pass: from this suggestion I derived singular satisfaction, as it was likely to afford me the opportunity of becoming acquainted with a new route; having already gone over that of Taranta three different times, a circumstance which had completely exhausted all my curiosity respecting it.

On the 18th, in a second consultation with the Baharnegash, it was finally settled that our party should adopt the plan proposed on the preceding day; while at the same time it was agreed, that the determination should be kept secret until the moment of our departure, for the purpose of keeping the Hazorta quiet in their station below Taranta. To this arrangement Shum Hummar's brother, who had brought me a private message, acceded; and it was resolved that he should attend me part of the way down, on receiving a small present, and should then proceed to his brother, to inform him of our plans, and to appoint him to meet us at Wéah.

During our stay at Dixan, a cafila arrived from the interior, which on enquiry I discovered to consist of travellers from Dar Fûr. Two of them shortly after paid me a visit, and solicited my permission to go down with our party to the coast; a request with which I willingly complied, in the hope of obtaining some information respecting their native country. I afterwards learned that they had employed nearly three months in their journey, having set out from Rîl at the latter end of February; that they had travelled a considerable way towards the south, out of the direct road, on account of their country being engaged in war with the people of Sennaar: that they had passed through a district called Mitchecié, which may, in all probability, be the Da-mitchequa, before described as inhabited by Shangalla, ("Da" or "Dar" merely signifying country;) and that their ulti-

mate destination was Mecca. Sultan Abd'el Rachman, who reigned over Dar Fûr during Mr. Browne's stay in that country, had been dead seven years, and had been succeeded by his son Mahomed, whose character was considered as very superior to that of his father. My informant also told me, that he had heard of a white man having visited the capital, and mentioned, of his own accord, that he had been ill-treated by the ruling sovereign, remarking at the same time, that if any stranger were now to enter the country, his reception would be very different.

These men appeared to be perfect negroes; their skins were of a shining black, and their features coarse and ill-favoured. They spoke Arabic almost as fluently as their native language, which was Fûrian: and of the latter they gave me a pretty copious vocabulary, which will be found inserted in the Appendix. On my return to England, I submitted this to the perusal of my friend Mr. Browne, who immediately recognized "about a dozen words;" but found that "they did not bear any resemblance to the Shilha language," which he had before suspected. The melancholy fate which has since befallen this traveller, who was barbarously murdered by a band of robbers in an attempt to penetrate to the north-east of Persia, renders his remarks on this subject particularly valuable; I have therefore inserted the whole of his note at the bottom of the page;* and to those who, like myself, admired his unassuming worth and extraordinary acquirements, this slight tribute of respect to his memory may not prove unacceptable.

* Dear Sir,

I recognise without difficulty about a dozen words of the Fûrian vocabulary. I do not trace any resemblance to the *Shilha*, however, as I suspected. Two or three words resemble those of the same meaning in my vocabulary of Dar Kunga, in which Har signifies *foot*, and Gnung, *meat*, the latter very like your *Neno*, bread. Dûl and Doual, for sun and moon, were given to Mr. Hamilton (vide p. 24 of his Travels) for Fûrian words by a Tocrûri, or faquir, whom he met at the Cataract going to Mecca in 1802; by whom also a number of names are mentioned, which shew he came from Dar Fûr.

your's faithfully,

W. G. BROWNE.

Several observations were taken by Mr. Stuart and myself, at Dixan, to ascertain its position, which gave the following result.

On the 17th May, first * (Alioth) in the tail of Ursa Major gave - - -	14°	59′	50″
Second * (ξ) in ditto. - - - -	14	59	10
Last * (Benetnach) in ditto. - -	15	0	41
	3)44	59	47
Mean Latitude of Dixan	14	59	55

The longitude of Dixan, deduced from a set of lunar observations, is 39° 38′ 30″. This brings the latitude to within two miles of that given by Mr. Bruce, (14° 57′ 55″.) The longitude differs from his about twenty-nine miles; that gentleman having laid it down in 40° 7′ 30″; but as this appears to have been only computed from a longitude ascertained in the province of Siré, and not from any actual observation on the spot, no great stress can be laid upon it. Dixan was formerly a fief under Axum, and even to the present day its inhabitants retain a high respect for that city; most of them being marked with a cross, burnt in the skin of the right shoulder, as a token of their attachment to its ecclesiastical establishment.*

On the 19th, early in the morning, we left Dixan, and after travelling about four miles up a continual ascent, passed over a low ridge of the mountain, which constitutes the north-western range of Taranta. The descent from this point was extremely steep, and much incommoded with loose stones, but bore no proportion to that of Taranta. On arriving at the bottom of the pass, we came to a plain, thickly interspersed with caper bushes, and in part covered with fine turf, presenting a singular contrast to the parched appearance of the country on the opposite side of the mountain; and throughout the whole extent of the plain we occasionally met with loose piles of stones, resembling "cromleks," from which the earth had been washed away by the force of the periodical

* It is not unlikely that this circumstance may have given rise to the fable mentioned in some old authors, "of the Abyssinians being baptised with *fire*."

rains. This small tract of land forms a *goolta*, or fief, belonging to the Nayib of Massowa, who holds it by consent of the Abyssinian chiefs in the neighbourhood; and it is said to yield him a considerable quantity of corn. A few miles beyond, we came to two villages, called Séah and Kudoona, in the neighbourhood of which we pitched our encampment for the night. The ruler of the district, Shum Sadoo, was at this time absent on a visit to Gondar, whither he had gone for the purpose of soliciting from the Emperor the rank of Kantiba; the whole of the inhabitants of this part of the country, from Hamazen to Adowa, being much attached to royalty, and entertaining a strong objection against holding their lands under any other authority. In his way to Gondar he had passed through Antálo, where I had seen him in the presence of the Ras, and the latter, when Shum Sadoo mentioned his purpose, smilingly remarked, "you may go if you please, and get what title you like: but you shall pay your tribute to me."

Towards evening the brother of Shum Sadoo paid us a visit, and brought the usual supply of provisions: and in return I made him a present of twenty dollars, for which he promised us protection down to Arkeeko. In the course of the evening we took several observations of stars, and a set of lunars, the result of which was as follows:

Second * (ξ) in the tail of Ursa Major, gave	15°	6′	47″
Last * Benetnach, - - - -	15	7	22
	½)30	14	9
Mean latitude of Séah	15	7	4½
Longitude per lunars, - - -	39	19	40

On the following day we passed over a second ridge of the mountains, and had to descend another very steep and rugged path, but of no great length, like that of the preceding day. A few miles beyond this we came to a stream of water, running towards the coast, through a bed of grey-coloured granite, where we staid for about an hour under the shade of some trees, to refresh our

party. In the neighbourhood of this spot a great number of Shiho were observed tending their cattle among the trees. These people appeared to possess a milder character than their neighbours the Hazorta, though greatly resembling them in person and in habits.

The general name applied to the Shiho is Torua: the particular names of the tribes being Edo, Gumeddo, Begiddo and Assala-iddo. The Hazorta speak the same language, and their chief tribes are called Assa-karré and Assa-lessan; both of which are evidently derived from some connection with the salt-plain; "assa," in the Geez language, signifying "salt."

To the north of the Shiho, are found people called Mara, Boja and Manda: beyond these are the Juma-jum, the Taguié, and Beja-rubroo; and these last border on the tribes in the neighbourhood of Suakin. The inhabitants of Massowa are accustomed to make trading excursions among these different nations, and the Nayib keeps up a pretty regular intercourse with their chiefs. The people in the neighbourhood of Suakin bear the general appellation of Adareb, and are said to be ruled by a chief, styled Sultaun Mahomed, who resides at Uddukud: the particular tribes are distinguished by the names of the Artéda, Bétmala, Karub, Bartoom, Adámur, Subderat, Ibarekab, Arandoah, Bishareen,* and Umma-ra. The Bartoom reside near Shendé, have many towns, and towards the south border on a tribe of Shangalla called Barea, who are accustomed to make incursions into Walkayt. The Adareb are connected with the Hallinga Taka;† are governed by a Dekhilek; and reside near the junction of the Tacazze† and the Nile, being remotely connected with the Funge who inhabit the country of Sennaar. Most of these nations change their habitations according to the seasons, and are nominally attached to the Mahomedan religion. Specimens of their languages, as far as they could be obtained, are given

* The Bishareen are wandering tribes, who act as guides across the desert from Shendi to Syene. They are said to be always at enmity with their neighbours the Ababdi Arabs, and they form the last link of the Ethiopian tribes, extending from the Cape of Good Hope to Egypt.

† There is evidently a connection between these two names.

in the Appendix. This short account comprehends all the information, which I was able to collect, at different times, respecting these northern tribes.

At one o'clock, we resumed our journey, and in a short time came to a turn in the road where a mountain appeared in sight, bearing about due north, distant ten miles, on which formerly stood the monastery of Bisan, celebrated throughout Abyssinia for its wealth and the number and sanctity of the monks who resided there.* It is at present, as I was informed, deserted and in ruins. To the left of this mountain, a road was pointed out to us, which led westward to Gella Guro, and Hamazen, through a wild and picturesque country, much frequented by elephants, while to the northward of it lie the districts of Kōt and Sahart, stretching out in a direct line towards Dobarwa.

From this time we continued to descend, keeping the line of the stream for about ten miles, during which we met with great numbers of entate, (adansonias,) asclepias, euphorbias, and tamarind trees, all of which are invariable signs of approaching the low and arid plains. A large herd of elephants appeared to have been recently traversing along this gully; as scarcely a tree could be found which did not bear evident marks of their ravages. At three o'clock we reached an opening in the gully; when Baharnegash Yasous dismounted from his mule, and requested us to go out of our way a short distance to the left for the purpose of seeing a pass "through which the Tabôt was brought into the country by Menilek." This spot was distinguished by a large clump of wild date trees, a circumstance somewhat remarkable, as that plant

* Vide Alvarez, p. 65, "lequel est situé sur la pointe d'un roc, fort haut; et de tous cotez, qu' on peut jeter la veúe en bas, on apercoit une profundité tenebreuse et epouvantable. L'église du monastere contient un grand circuit. et est d'une grande structure, bien dressée, et les batimens magnifiquement ordonnez: et est le comble d'icelle enrichy de trois nefs grandes et fort industrieusement compassées:" and Poncet's Voyage to Ethiopia, page 113, who has told a ridiculous fable of his having seen in the church a round staff of gold hanging unsuspended in the air, and, "for better assurance," he adds, "and, to take away all doubt, I passed my cane over it and under it and on all sides, and found that this staff of gold did truly hang itself in the air"!!

does not appear to be indigenous in the country: the monastery of Bisan at the time bore from us about due west. Hence our course formed a complete traverse among loose blocks and ridges of granite, which brought us at last to a beautiful grove of trees situated by the side of a stream, where we pitched our tent for the night.

On the 22d, we set off at day-light, and passed down a road or gully, nearly impracticable for mules, owing to the immense blocks of granite impeding the way; an obstruction which, at times, occasioned the stream to disappear. In the course of the day we met with several parties of Shiho carrying up merchandize towards Hamazen, and among them we observed some young girls with fine proportioned limbs and beautiful features, who were much lighter-coloured than any we had before seen. At half past seven, after an irregular course, we reached a spot where the road divided in two, and here we left the stream, (which, as I was informed, runs off in an eastern direction to Wéah) and turned northward up the ascent of the high mountain of Assauli. Near the entrance of the pass we visited a Shiho encampment, consisting of a circular range of conical huts, put together in a manner somewhat resembling the kraal of the Kaffers, from which the natives were beginning to drive their goats up into the mountains to graze: the whole of this encampment had the appearance of great neatness and comfort, and the number of milch goats and kids amounted to several thousands.

The ascent of the mountain Assauli was very steep, which was rendered less unpleasant from the improving beauty of the scenery as we advanced; the whole of our track being skirted by groves of the most beautifully flowering shrubs and plants, broken here and there by jutting masses of rock and green plats of turf, that gave to the whole prospect a most delightful appearance. About half way up we found a spring of pellucid water trickling from the rocks, under which a small bason was excavated for the convenience of travellers, and near this spot we halted to refresh ourselves during the heat of the day.

In the afternoon we again proceeded, and in about two hours reached the highest summit of the mountain. The

contrast which the scene before us now presented was very extraordinary; immediately in front lay a verdant plain, on which the natives were busily engaged, some in tending their cattle, and others in gathering in a field of wheat; while beyond an extensive prospect opened to the view over the burning regions of the Tehama, in which might be distinguished, at a distance, the mountain of Ras Gidam, the Island of Massowa, and the expanded line of the surrounding sea. Near this spot stood the tomb of a Sheik, equally reverenced by Christians and Mahomedans. On our arriving opposite to it, Baharnegash Yasous and his son broke some bread, which was presented by one of the Shiho, and with a superstitious anxiety solicited us to partake of it; but the reason for this custom I could not ascertain.

On the top of Assauli I took, with a theodolite, the following bearings: Massowa NE.; Ras Gidam N. 75 E. and Dixan (on a computed distance) nearly south. Hence we began to descend for about half a mile, until we arrived at a small circular spot, covered with green turf, and surrounded by trees, where we encamped for the night. At a short distance from this place a stream of fresh water issued from a crevice in the rocks, and an old man, who had travelled up from the coast, sat musing near its source. On our going up to him he turned round and accosted us, and to my great surprise, "enquired after the Emperor's health at Gondar!" This seems to confirm a remark I have before made, that the royal family is looked up to with more respect here than in most other parts of the country. In the evening Baharnegash Yasous, who had attended me during my whole stay in the country, took his leave. Among all the men with whom I have ever been intimately acquainted, I consider this old man as one of the most perfect and blameless characters. His mind seemed to be formed upon the purest principles of the Christian religion; his every thought and action appearing to be the result of its dictates. He would often, to ease his mule, walk more than half the day; and as he journeyed by my side, continually recited prayers for our welfare and future prosperity. On all occasions he sought to repress in those around him every improper feeling of anger; conciliated them

by the kindest words, and excited them by his own example to an active performance of their several duties. If a man were weary, he would assist him in carrying his burden; if he perceived any of the mules backs to be hurt, he would beg me to have them relieved; and constantly, when he saw me engaged in shooting partridges or other birds, he would call out to them to fly out of the way; shaking his head, and begging me in a mournful accent not to kill them. I have remarked in my former journal, that with all this refined feeling of humanity, he was far from being devoid of courage, and I had an opportunity subsequently of witnessing several instances of his bravery, though he appeared on all occasions peculiarly anxious to avoid a quarrel. At the present time he was at variance with the Nayib of Massowa, and therefore did not think it right to venture farther towards the coast. On his going away I presented him with an hundred dollars, and a small piece of broad cloth to make a kaftan: and we parted, I believe, with mutual regret; at least for my own part I can truly say, that I have seldom felt more respect for an individual than I did for this worthy man. The thermometer in the evening was at 62.°

On the 23d we descended to the bottom of the mountain, where we gradually lost sight of the beautiful scenery with which we had been so much delighted, and soon got into a wild jungle of thorny acacias, growing on a sandy and barren soil; all traces of the stream in a short time totally disappearing.

The country after this became so extremely wild and thickly set with trees, that, for a short time, we completely lost our way, and wandered several miles towards the south, until an old shepherd, watching an isolated field of mishella, belonging to Shum Sadoo, at length set us right. Hence we proceeded in an easterly direction, having to descend several rugged passes, until we came to a range of wells in the bed of a torrent, situated at about eleven miles distance from Arkeeko, where we found a number of the natives watering large droves of cattle, brought up from the vicinity of the coast; and in the neighbourhood of this spot we took up our encampment for the night. We had not long remained here, before we received a visit from the chief of the adjoining district,

named Baharnegash Oual, who came down to pay his compliments, preceded by two men blowing a long kind of trumpet, the shrill sound of which re-echoed through the valley. On enquiry, I discovered that this chief was an Abyssinian; a circumstance which gave me great pleasure, as I had not been before aware, that the Christian influence had extended so near the coast. He appeared to be a very respectable man, and expressed himself happy that we had adopted this route; in consequence of which, on his taking leave, I made him a small present, and he promised, in return, to befriend any Englishman who might afterwards pass through the country. In the evening we were greatly amused by some wandering musicians, whom the Baharnegash sent to entertain us. The instrument on which they played was a species of lyre, producing very agreeable notes, which they accompanied with singing some wild airs peculiar to their country. During the night I was awakened by an outcry in the camp, which occasioned so much alarm, that it induced me to rush out of the tent, when it appeared that some furious wild beast had been endeavouring to carry off one of our mules; and, in consequence, the whole of our animals, which had been picketted in a line, had started from their fastenings; and they now stood trembling in a cluster together, covered with profuse perspiration. The extraordinary alarm which they manifested on this occasion, made me suppose that the animal, of which I myself caught only a glimpse, must have been a lion.

On the following day, the heat being intense, (the thermometer throughout the night having been upwards of 80°) we made an early march towards the coast, and about noon reached Arkeeko. In the course of our journey we had seen immense droves of camels, belonging to the Tigré, or Nayib's tribe, of Shiho, wandering among the Gira trees, and had found that the opening from the mountain was not more than a mile and a half south from Arkeeko. Soon afterwards we proceeded round to Massowa, where, to our great regret, we discovered that the Marian had not yet arrived, and were not able to learn of any other means of conveyance to Mocha. The Kaimakam, however, received us with

much attention, and had prepared for our reception the house of Aboo Yusuph, where we consequently took up our abode; another habitation having been set apart for Ayto Debib and the Ras's people.

The weather at this time became extremely oppressive, and the air very unwholesome, owing to the putrid stench which arose, at low water, from the beach, where all the filth of the town is accumulated. These circumstances, together with the sudden changes of climate we had undergone, added to the anxiety that I felt at the situation in which we were placed by the absence of the ship, brought on a violent fever, which rendered me incapable of any exertion. The most powerful remedies were immediately applied, which fortunately succeeded in removing the disease; but it left me so weak and reduced, that I felt assured I should have fallen a sacrifice to it, had I continued longer on that dreadful spot. Fortunately, a dow belonging to Currum-Chund soon afterwards came into the harbour, which was immediately hired for our conveyance: and to this occurrence, together with the kind and uniform attention of Mr. Smith, who had gone up with me into the country, I consider myself indebted for my life. On the 4th of June I was carried on board: and on the 5th, after having remunerated all my Abyssinian attendants, and taken leave of Ayto Debib, we set sail. As I had a particular opportunity of observing the good qualities which this young man possessed, I shall here give a short sketch of his life, as I consider that it affords a favourable specimen of the Abyssinian character.

Debib was the son of a chief on the coast, commanding a small district called Bùr, and early in life, in one of the Ras's excursions, he was taken prisoner. His manners, even when a boy, were so engaging, that he was taken much notice of by the Ras, and put with several other young prisoners (a general policy, for which the Ras deserves much credit) under the care of a learned priest to be educated.* At the period of my first arrival in Abyssinia, he had reached the sixteenth year of his age; had

* The discipline under which these young men were kept was strict, not to say severe, the whip on many occasions not being spared.

made considerable progress in his education; and was remarked for the propriety and steadiness of his conduct. About two years after I left the country, he became so distinguished among his companions for the prudence of his conduct, and the superiority of his manners, that he rose into favour with the Ras, and was employed on several missions to the Governor of Samen, and other chiefs. This kind of trust is attended with great advantage; as on the departure of a messenger, the Ras generally presents him with a dress and a mule; and the chief to whom the message is sent, takes an opportunity always of expressing his attachment to the Ras, by the present which he makes his messenger in return. Debib's success in these missions brought him into more distinguished notice, and, as a reward, the Ras made over to him his paternal district, which the young man wisely placed under the care of his father, who had turned priest, he himself remaining attached to the Ras's household, with the titles of Selafé, Chelika, and, by courtesy, Balamaal.

On many occasions he has been known to argue on affairs of great consequence with the Ras, when no one else had dared to interpose: his manner being peculiarly prepossessing, and having gained the especial favour of the old man, by his possessing a noble spirit of independence, which would not let him stoop to any thing below, what he himself conceived, the dignity of a chief. In his character, he was extremely proud; but his pride was of a nature to be admired, since it excluded even the thought of asking for presents.—"No!" I have often heard him say, in the mixed dialect, which Mr. Pearce and a few of his friends exclusively understood, "*ana meschine*,* *subook*,† *lakin ana maufish*,‡ *beg*.§" "I may be poor; it is well; but I will never beg." During my stay in the country, I often observed his anxious wish to possess an English gun; yet, until towards the departure of Mr. Pearce, he never made his desire known; and then he expressed it through him in the most delicate way, intreating that it might appear to be a suggestion of his own. I have seldom felt myself more gratified, than in being able to present him, a few days before I departed,

* Arabic. † Abyssinian. ‡ Arabic. § English.

with the one which I had always used in the country; and his joy on the occasion was expressed with an enthusiasm which no words can describe. The interest I felt for this young man, on account of his amiable character, will make me always remember him with pleasure: and it is satisfactory to me to reflect that I had an opportunity of strengthening the principles of virtue in his mind, and of promoting his future prospects with the Ras.

On the 6th we touched at Dahalac el Kibeer, where I renewed my acquaintance with the Sheik commanding that place; on the 8th we passed Sarbo, Morah, and Amphila: and, on the 10th, after experiencing regular land and sea breezes along the coast, stretched over to Mocha; where we safely arrived, and shortly afterwards took up our residence at the British factory.

During my stay at Massowa, in March, I had been induced to entertain the idea, that some remains of the ancient city of Adule, mentioned by Pliny, Cosmas, and other writers, might be found at the bottom of Annesley Bay, in the neighbourhood of the modern town of Zulla. I had been led to this conjecture from the relative situation of the bay with the Island of Valentia, (which is undoubtedly the ancient Orine, noticed in the Periplus;) from the resemblance of "Zulla" (or as it is sometimes pronounced "Thulla") to the ancient name; and from the fact of a column, evidently of Egyptian workmanship, and lying at the landing place opposite Massowa, having been brought, according to the accounts of the natives, "from somewhere near the bottom of Annesley Bay." Hadjee Hamed, who had attended me down from Dixan, had also mentioned, in answer to my enquiries, that "he had heard of an ancient town near Zulla, where considerable ruins still remained of houses, tanks, and columns;" but his accounts were mingled with so many fables of gold and treasures having been concealed there, that they could not be much relied upon for their accuracy. On my return to Massowa, in May, I met again with Shum Hummar, from whom I unexpectedly gained a more satisfactory account. He told me, "that great remains of an old town could still be traced near Zulla, which had been called 'Azoole;' that the houses appear-

ed to have been larger and more numerous than those at Massowa; immense masses of square stones, four or five feet in breadth, lying heaped confusedly together in the bed of a 'gorf' or 'torrent;' by the sudden overflowing of which, it was traditionally reported, the town had been destroyed." He represented these ruins as being at no great distance from Zulla; and he added, that the inhabitants of this town were by no means so bad as the natives of Arkeeko; on which account he thought, that any person sent over by me, would not experience much difficulty in getting a sight of the place he had described. This description was, two days afterwards, strongly confirmed to me by Shum Aile, another old man of the Hazorta tribe, who, on being asked the name of the ancient town, distinctly called it Azoole; and repeatedly afterwards mentioned that name in describing what he had seen; adding the same traditional story of its having been destroyed by a torrent.

In consequence of these reports, I felt very anxious to have gone down to Zulla myself; but was unfortunately prevented by illness. I was therefore induced to send Mr. Stuart, who accordingly proceeded under my directions in Wursum's dow, which had joined us the day before we left Massowa. His researches, however, did not prove very successful, for though he contrived to reach the town of Zulla, which he described as two miles from the beach and larger than Arkeeko, yet, owing to the jealousy which the natives entertained of his visiting the ruins, he was obliged to return without accomplishing this most material part of his object. The people acknowledged, however, the existence of such remains, and he was fortunate enough to procure from one of the natives a small and very ancient stone vase, said to be found among the large stones of which the ruins are composed.

As the inscriptions found at Adule by Cosmas have been alluded to particularly, both in this work and in my former observations, I have here inserted, in a note, a copy of them from the Bibliotheca of Fabricius.*

* Monumentum Adulitanum Ptolemæi Euergetæ.

Βασιλεὺς μέγας Πτολεμαῖος, υἱὸς Βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, καὶ Βασιλίσσης Ἀρσινόης, Θεῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν Βασιλέων Πτολεμαίου, καὶ Βασιλίσσης Βερενίκης, Θεῶν Σωτήρων ἀπόγονος. Τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ πατρὸς, Ἡρακλέος, τοῦ Διός. τα δὲ ἀπὸ μητρὸς, Διονύσου τοῦ Διός. Παραλαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς τὴν Βασιλείαν Ἀιγύπτου· καὶ Λιβύης· καὶ Συρίας· καὶ Φοίνικης· καὶ Κύπρου· καὶ Λυκίας, καὶ Καρίας καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων· ἐξεστράτευσεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, μετὰ δυνάμεων πεζικῶν, καὶ ἱππικῶν καὶ ναυτικοῦ στόλου· καὶ ἐλεφάντων Τρωγλοδυτικῶν, καὶ Ἀιθιωπικῶν, οὓς ὁ, τε πατὴρ καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἐκ τῶν χωρῶν τούτων ἐθήρευσαν, καὶ καταγαγόντες εἰς Ἄιγυπτον κατεσκίευσαν πρὸς τὴν πολεμικὴν χρειάν. Κυρίευσας δὲ τῆς τε ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου χώρας πάσης τε Κιλικίας· καὶ Παμφυλίας, καὶ Ἰωνίας, καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ Θράκης καὶ τῶν δυνάμεων τῶν ἐν ταῖς χώραις ταύταις πασῶν· καὶ Ἐλεφάντων Ἰνδικῶν. Καὶ τοὺς Μονάρχους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς τόποις πάντας ὑπηκόους κατασήσας, διέβη τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν, καὶ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, καὶ Βαβυλωνίαν· καὶ Συσιάνην. καὶ Περσίδα καὶ Μηδίαν. καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν πᾶσαν, ἕως Βακτριανῆς, ὑπ' αὐτὸν ποιησάμενος· καὶ ἀναζητήσας, ὅσα ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἱερὰ ἐξ Ἀιγύπτου ἐξήχθη, καὶ ἀνακομίσας, μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης γάζης, τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων εἰς Ἄιγυπτον, δυνάμεις ἀπέστειλε, διὰ τῶν ὀρυχθείσων ποταμῶν.

Monumentum Adulitanum Regis Æthiopum.

Μεθ' ἃ ἀνδριώσας, τὰ μὲν ἔγγιστα τοῦ Βασιλέως μου ἔθνη εἰρηνεύεσθαι κελεύσας, ἐπολέμησα καὶ ὑπέταξα μάχαις τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα ἔθνη. Γάζη ἔθνη ἐπολέμησα· ἔπειτα Ἀγάμη καὶ Σιγύην, καὶ νικήσας τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς πάντων, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐμερισαμην. Ἄυα, καὶ Τιαμῶ, τοὺς λεγομένους Τζιαμῶ, καὶ τοὺς Γαμβουλά, καὶ τὰ ἐγγὺς αὐτῶν καὶ Ξιγγαβηνὴ καὶ Ἀγγαβὶ καὶ Τιαμά, καὶ Ἀθαγαοὺς καὶ Καλαὰ καὶ Σεμηνὶ ἔθνος πέραν τοῦ Νείλου ἐν δυσβάτοις καὶ χιονώδεσιν ὄρεσιν οἰκοῦντας, ἐν οἷς διὰ παντὸς νιφετοὶ, καὶ κρύη, καὶ χιόνες βαθύτατοι ὡς μέχρι γονάτων καταδύνειν ἄνδρα· τὸν ποταμὸν διαβὰς, ὑπέταξα. Ἔπειτα Λασινὶ καὶ Ζαά καὶ Γαῶλά οἰκοῦντας παρ' ὄρεσι θερμῶν ὑδάτων βλύζουσι, καὶ καταῤῥύτοις, Ἀταλμῶ καὶ Βιγὰ, καὶ τὰ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἔθνη πάντα. Ταγγαῖτας τοὺς μέχρι τῶν τῆς Ἀιγύπτου ὁρίων οἰκοῦντας, ὑποτάξας, πεζεύεσθαι ἐποίησα τὴν ὁδὸν, ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς ἐμῆς Βασιλείας τόπων μέχρις Ἀιγύπτου. ἔπειτα Ἀνείσι καὶ Μετίνε ἐν ἀποκρήμνοις οἰκοῦντα ὄρεσι. Σεσία ἔθνος, ἐπολέμησα· οὓς καὶ μέγιστον καὶ δυσβατώτατον ὄρος ἀνελθόντας, περιφρουήσας κατήγαγον. Καὶ ἐξιλεξάμην ἐμαυτῷ τοὺς τε νέους αὐτῶν, καὶ γυναῖκας, καὶ παῖδας, καὶ παρθένους, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς κτῆσιν. Ραυσῶν ἔθνη μεσόγεια Λιβανωτοφόρων Βαρβάρων οἰκοῦντα ἐντὸς πεδίων μεγίστων ἀνύδρων· καὶ Σωλατὶ ἔθνος ὑπέταξα. Ὅις καὶ τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς τῆς θαλάσσης φυλάσσειν ἐκέλευσα· Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ὄρεσιν ἰσχυροῖς περιφρουήσας, αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις παρὼν, νικήσας καὶ ὑποτάξας, ἐχαρισάμην αὐτοῖς πάσας τὰς χώρας ἐπὶ φόρου, ἄλλα δὲ πλεῖστα ἔθνη ἑκόντα ὑπέτάγη μοι ἐπὶ φόρου. Καὶ πέραν δὲ τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης οἰκοῦντας Ἀραβίτας, καὶ κινναιδοκολπίτας στρατεύμα ναυτικὸν καὶ πεζικὸν διαπεμψάμενος, καὶ ὑποτάξας αὐτῶν τοὺς Βα-

σιλίας, φόρους τῆς γῆς τελεῖν ἐκέλευσα, καὶ ὁδεύεσθαι μετ' εἰρήνης καὶ πλέισθαι. Ἀπότι λευκῆς κόμης ἕως τῆς Σαβίων χώρας ἐπολέμησα. Πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἔθνη πρῶτος καὶ μόνος Βασιλεύων, τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ, ὑπέταξα. Δι' ἣν ἔχω τὸν μέγιστον Θεόν μου Ἄρην εὐχαριστίαν ὃς με καὶ ἐγέννησε· Δι' οὗ πάντα τὰ ὁμοροῦντα τῇ ἐμῇ, ἀπὸ μὲν ἀνατολῆς· μέχρι τῆς Λιβανωτοφόρου, ἀπὸ δὲ δύσεως, μέχρι τῶν τῆς Αἰθιοπίας καὶ Σάσυ τόπων, ὑπ' ἐμαυτὸν ἐποίησα· ἃ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἐλθὼν καὶ νικήσας, ἃ δὲ διαπεμπόμενος. Καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καταστήσας πάντα τὸν ὑπ' ἐμοὶ κόσμον, κατῆλθον εἰς τὴν Ἀδούλην, τῷ Διΐ, καὶ τῷ Ἄρει, καὶ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι θυσιάσαι, ὑπὲρ τῶν πλοϊζομένων. Ἀθροίσας δὲ μου τὰ τρόπαιμματα, καὶ ὑφ' ἓν ποιήσας ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ καθίσας, τόνδε τὸν θρόνον παραθήκην τῷ Ἄρει ἐποίησα. Ἔτι τῆς βασιλείας εἰκοστῷ ἑβδόμῳ.*

* For the translation of these inscriptions vide Appendix to Dr. Vincent's Periplus of the Erythrean Sea.

CHAPTER X.

Some account of the ancient history of Abyssinia; its Inhabitants descended from aboriginal Tribes of Ethiopians—their Conversion to Christianity—Conquest of Yemen by the Emperor Ameda—List of the Sovereigns who have reigned in Abyssinia—Attempts of the Portuguese to introduce the Roman Catholic religion—their failure—Notice of the different travellers who have since visited the country—Its present State—Concluding Remarks—Departure from Mocha—Storm in the neighbourhood of Socotra—Arrival at Bombay—Departure thence, and return to England.

HAVING already given an account of the events that occurred during my stay in Abyssinia, which I have considered worthy of notice, I shall now proceed to lay before the reader a short abstract of the history of the country, some general remarks respecting its present condition, and a few miscellaneous observations which may tend to elucidate its geography. I shall not enter, at any great length, into the history of Abyssinia; but shall content myself with giving (as far as I have thought necessary) a list of the reigning sovereigns, which I have had an opportunity of correcting from the best authorities in the country; and shall endeavour, in a cursory way, to point out merely such particular events, mentioned in the native annals, as are confirmed by the writings of cotemporary authors of other nations, and which, from receiving their concurrent testimony, may be considered as established historical facts. To wade further into the obscure materials of these chronicles would be trespassing on the patience of my reader, more especially after what has already been attempted by Mr. Bruce; who, though he has not published a *very correct* abstract of Abyssinian annals, has, in the modern part at least, brought together a highly ingenious compilation, written so characteristically, as to afford a very fair general idea of their history.*

I still retain the opinion I have given in my former observations on this subject,† that the Abyssinians, or

* Vol. III. throughout, and part of IV.

† Lord Valentia's Travels, Vol. III. p. 242-3.

Axomites (as they were called by the Romans) are descended from a race of the aboriginal inhabitants of Africa, composed of native Ethiopians who became in the course of time mixed with settlers from Egypt; and that they do not exhibit any claims to an Arabian descent, as was supposed by the late Mr. Murray;* though I confess that I feel considerable regret in entertaining a different opinion from that gentleman, on a subject, upon which, from his extraordinary acquirements in Oriental literature, he was, in some respects, so eminently qualified to decide. The chief, and indeed sole argument on which Mr. Murray founded his opinion, was drawn from the similarity between the Geez and the Arabian languages; but surely this circumstance may be sufficiently accounted for, from the supposition, that both might have been derived from the same common stock, namely the Hebrew, which Mr. Murray himself appears to have satisfactorily explained to be the most ancient language in existence; whereas, on the other side of the question, the general tenor of the history of the Abyssinians, their buildings, written character, dress, and the description of them given in the earliest Arabian and Byzantine writers, all tend to prove them a distinct race from the Arabs.

As the last argument has not before, to my knowledge, been used, though it appears to bear very strongly on the question, I may be excused for entering into it a little more at large. In the history of Arabia Felix, collected from various Arabian authors, by Schultens, we find several accounts of the conquest of this country by the Abyssinians, and the epithets continually applied to them are "blacks" (سود), which Schultens translates Æthiopes,† and "people with crisped hair" (crispâ tortilique comâ:‡) one of their princes also, suing to the Emperor of Persia, entreats him to drive out "these crows," who are hateful to his countrymen;§ the appli-

* App. to Bruce's Travels, Vol. VII. p. 435.

† Historia Joctanidarum in Arabiâ Felice, p. 83. "Ipse Dou Nowas equo evectus se in mare præcipitem dedit, addens, per Deum mergi præstat quam Ethiopibus (آل سودان) vinciri."

‡ Historia Joctanidarum in Arabiâ Felice, p. 137.

§ O rex! corvi regiones nostras oppressêre, &c. p. 129.

cation of which terms, makes it apparent that there existed, at that time, no traces of their being descended from the same progenitors. The Axomites are likewise correctly distinguished from the Homerites, in Philostorgius, one of the earliest of the Byzantine writers, by the appellation of "Æthiopes,"* and in like manner Procopius,† Cedrenus,‡ Cosmas, and John Malala,§ though all apply the word Indi to both people, confine the epithet Æthiopes to the Axomites. The term of Ethiopians too, or Itiopjawan,‖ is, as I have before noticed, the favourite appellation by which the Abyssinians designate themselves. It is true, that in the intercourse carried on with the opposite coast, vast numbers of Arabians have in process of time become mingled with them: but still it appears to me, that both in feature, colour, habit, and manners, they form a perfectly distinct race.

The "Tareek Negushti" or "Chronicle of the Kings of Abyssinia," begins with a list of the emperors from "Arwê," or "the serpent," to Menilek, some of whom, like the sovereigns of old, are said to have reigned several hundred years.¶ From Menilek, the list appears to wear a somewhat more probable shape, though no great dependence can be placed upon it, as will appear by the following enumeration.

	Y.	M.		Y.	M.
Menilek, or Ibn' Hakim reigned -	29	0	Za Tsawe - -	3	10
Za Hendedyu -	1	0	Zagesyu -	half a day.	
Awda - - -	11	0	Za Maute - -	8	4
Za Awsyu - -	3	0	Za Bahse - -	9	0
			Kāwuda - -	2	0

* Philostorgii Historia Eccles. Lib. III. p. 478. Mogunt. 1679.
† De Bello Persico, L. I. p. 257, et passim. Basil, 1531.
‡ G. Cedreni Hist. Comp. p. 364. Paris, 1647.
§ Historia Chronica Joannis Antioch. Oxonii. 1691, p. 163.
‖ Ludolf's Hist. Ethiop. L. i. c. 1. Francf. 1681.
¶ These consist of Arwé, who reigned four hundred years. Za Beesi Angâba, who reigned two hundred years. Zagdur, one hundred. Zazebass Besedo, fifty. Zakawasya b'Axum, one. Za Makeda, fifty: in her fourth year she went to Jerusalem, and after her return reigned twenty-five years.

	Y.	M.		Y.	M.
Kanazi - -	10	0	Za Ber-was -	29	0
Haduna - -	9	0	Za Mahasi - -	1	0
Za-Wasih - -	1	0	Zabaesi Bazen -	16	0*
Zah-dir - -	2	0	and in the eighth year of his reign Christ was born.		
Za Awzena -	1	0			

After Bazen the following kings reigned in succession.

	Y.	M.		Y.	M.
Za-Senatu -	26	0	Za Zigen and Rema	40	0
Za Les - -	10	0	Za Gafale - -	1	0
Za Masenh -	6	0	Za Baesi serk -	4	0
Za Sutuwa -	9	0	Za† Elasguaga	76	0
Za-Adgaba -	10	6	El Herka - -	21	0
Za Agba - -	0	6	Za Baesi tsawesa	1	0
Za-Malis - -	6	0	Za Wakena	two days.	
Za-Hakale -	13	0	Za Hadus -	0	4
Za Demahé -	10	0	El Segel - -	2	0
Za Awtet - -	2	0	El Asfeh - -	14	0
Za Elawda -	20	0	El Tsegaba -	23	0

* Another corrupt list exists in the Chronicles which I brought over, running as follows: Ibn Hakim, Tomai Zadgur, Ascumai, Tahawasya, Abralius, Wurred-Sai, Endor, Wurred Negush, Ausanya, Elalior, Toma Sion, Basilius, Autet, Zaware, Scifi, Rami, Artsé, Suffelia, Agbul, Bawaul, Bawaris, Mahassé, Naqué, Bazen; and these are, no doubt, "the twenty-four emperors" alluded to by Tellez. Travels of the Jesuits, p. 74. London, 1710.

† Up to this reign we find the Za or Zo prefixed, which is the mark, as I conceive, of the shepherd kings or original Ethiopians; but about this time the "El" which succeeds seems to denote a change in the dynasty, a conjecture strongly confirmed by the very short reigns of the three sovereigns Za baesi tsawesa, Za wakena, and Za-hadus, which intervene, and with the last I imagine that the first race of kings became extinct. It may admit of a query whether this revolution were not effected by a *colony of Syrians*, who are said to have been placed by Alexander to the south of the Axomites near the mouth of the Red Sea. Vide Philostorgius, p. 470. Περίληψις δὲ τούτων ἐστὶν Αὐξωμίτων ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξωτάτω πρὸς ἀνατολὰς καθήκοντες ἀκρωτήριον παροικοῦσιν οἱ ΣΤΡΟΙ, ταύτην τὴν κλῆσιν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιόσι φερόντες· Ἀλεξανδρος δὲ παρὰ τούτοις ὁ Μακεδὼν ἐκ τῆς Σύρας ἀναστήσας πλανθοῖ καλουμένου, ὃν δὴ τυν ἔτι τῇ πατρῴῳ φωνῇ κεχρῆται. Μελανὲς οὖν ἐστι δήπου ἀπαντῆς, ὀξυὰς αὐτοῖς τε ἀκτῖνος τε ἡλίου καθιστάμενος, παρὰ τούτοις ἤ τε ξυλοκάσια μαλίστα γίνεται. κ. τ. λ. Nicephorus Call. (Basil, 1559) Lib. ix. Ch. xviii. gives the same narration; a circumstance which, if allowed, might in some degree account for the introduction of the Geez language into the country, without seeking for its origin in Arabia.

	Y.	M.		Y.	M.
El Semera -	3	0	El Aiga - -	18	0
*El-Abreha and El-Atzbeha or Aizana and Saizana**	26	6	El Ameda -	40	8
El Aiba - -	16	0	El Ahiawya† -	3	0
El Iskandi -	36	0	Asfah†, Arfad†, Amosi†, Seladoba†	sup. 32	0
El Tshemo -	9	0	Ameda.		
El San - -	13	0			

In the Chronicle itself a somewhat different order is observed from the one I have given,‡ Abreha and Atzbeha being inserted after El Ahiawya, and not in the situation where I have ventured to put them; but, if any reliance may be placed upon the list, it is evident that, in the arrangement found in the Chronicle, there must exist a very striking error; for the whole sum of years there given, from the 8th year of Bazen, to the 13th of Abreha, must amount to four hundred and sixty-five years; whereas the Chronicle itself expressly states that a period of three hundred and thirty only had elapsed. This inconsistency first led me to suspect the mistake, which, on subsequent and attentive consideration, I became satisfied had taken place: and therefore I feel myself justified in arranging Abreha and Atzbeha according to the date of the period in which they reigned, after "El Semera," and considering the remainder of the names

* The reader will observe here a striking coincidence, that by taking the eight years of Bazen, which happened subsequently to the birth of Christ, and adding the thirteen in Abreha's reign, at which period Christianity was introduced, it forms precisely three hundred and thirty years, the period which is stated to have elapsed between those two events in the Chronicles.

† It is probable that all these five names should be also removed, El Ahiawya being placed before El Abreha, and the other three following immediately after: and then, instead of two, there would be only one Ameda: but I have not ventured to make this alteration; though, to confirm the propriety of it, one of the Chronicles states, that the space between the 8th year of Bazen and the 13th of Abreha, was three hundred and thirty-three years.

‡ Vide Mr. Murray's Appendix to Vol. VII. of Mr. Bruce, who partly collected his information from lists which I brought into the country.

contained in the list as following in regular succession. The correctness of this distribution is strongly confirmed by the circumstance of the inadequate number of sovereigns mentioned in the Chronicle as having reigned between Abreha and Ameda; whereas, by the order I have ventured to adopt, it affords a very fair proportion; and from the singular coincidence that, taking the 8th year of Bazen for the birth of Christ, and adding the thirteen years of Abreha, which is the period assigned for the introduction of Christianity, it *precisely* makes up the number three hundred and thirty, which is the exact interval between those two events assigned to have taken place in the Chronicle. Supposing then Asfah, Arfad, Amosi, and Seladoba to have reigned altogether about seventy years, and adding them to the list after El Ahiawya; and it gives a probable consistency to the Chronicle, bringing it regularly down as far as Ameda, whom we know to have been contemporary with Justin.

The classical reader will find a pleasure in recognising, in the above list, the name of the sovereign who reigned in Abyssinia at the period when the Periplus of the Erythrean sea was written; as it can scarcely, I think, admit of a doubt that Zoskales (Ζωσκαλης*) there mentioned answers to the Zahakale here named, who is said to have reigned between the years seventy-six and ninety-nine; and it is an extraordinary circumstance how nearly this agrees with the period to which Dr. Vincent had attributed the writing of the Periplus, namely, to the 10th year of Nero, or A. D. 64, making a difference of about twelve years only, a singular coincidence which necessarily adds a very important confirmation to both accounts.

The next light thrown on this history may be drawn from the narratives of the conversion of the Axomites to the Christian religion in the time of the Emperor Constantine, as related by Rufinus,† and other ecclesiastical

* The alteration of a single letter "α" for σ, would give precisely the same name, and it is a mistake that is very likely to have occurred. Vide Periplus of the Erythrean Sea edited by Dr. Vincent. —"The king of this country is Zoskales, whose dominions extend from the Moscóphagi to Barbaria—a prince superior to most, and educated with a knowledge of Greek."

† Lib. I. c. 9. and Cedrenus. p. 284, Vol. I.

writers; by which it appears evident that the person named Frumentius was the Abba Salama or Fremonatos noticed by the Chronicle; who, after having resided some years in Abyssinia, was raised to the rank of a bishop by Athanasius, and first introduced Christianity among the inhabitants. It subsequently appears, that, on the Arians gaining the ascendency in the following reign, the Emperor Constantius sent an embassy through Theophilus, an Indian,* with a letter addressed to the ruling sovereigns Aizana and Saizana, whom he styles αδελφοι τιμιωτατοι, most dear brethren, for the purpose of persuading Frumentius to relinquish the doctrines of Athanasius, and to adopt those of the new patriarch Georgius; and that such monarchs reigned in Abyssinia is clearly proved by the inscription I discovered at Axum. Some difficulty exists in ascertaining to which of the sovereigns mentioned in the list these appellations may apply; in my former narrative I attributed them to Abreha, and Atsbeha: but from the date which must be allowed to Constantius's letter (A. D. 356) Mr. Murray was of opinion, that it ought to be applied to some of the succeeding kings: but this change I do not conceive necessary; as it is not improbable that the names of the sovereigns who reigned when Frumentius was first sent into the country might (even though they had ceased to reign,) have been used on the second occasion, by the Emperor Constantius.

At this period the power of the emperors of Abyssinia seems to have been very fully established, and their conquests to have extended over part of Arabia, and from Zeyla up to the junction of the Tacazze with the Nile. Such, at least, is the extent of the jurisdiction assumed by one of the Adulitic inscriptions, which, since I gave my suggestions to the public, has been allowed by several persons, eminently qualified to decide on the question, to commemorate the transactions of an Abyssinian sovereign, and in all probability of the same prince who erected the monument at Axum.†

* Vide Philostorgius 477, et seq. et Sancti Athanasii Apol. Paris, 1627, p. 698.

† Vide Appendix to Bruce, Vol. VII. p. 438, by Mr. Murray, and page 119 of the Periplus by Dr. Vincent, who both candidly admit my conjectures.

From the period of which I am speaking, a lapse of nearly two hundred years occurs before we again find the Axomites noticed, when, from the complete command they had gained in the Red Sea, they began to take a lead in the general scale of politics, which makes them the subject of repeated mention both in the Greek and Arabian authors, whose accounts in general are extremely consistent, though, from the variation in the names and other obscure passages, much difficulty has hitherto been experienced in reconciling them to each other. At length, however, from a close comparison of the narratives in different authors, I have been enabled to establish two points, in which the Byzantine historians agree so precisely with the statements in the native chronicles, that it in a great measure removes the obscurity which has hitherto attended the subject; a circumstance which appears to me of considerable importance to general history, as connected with the Roman, Persian, and Arabian transactions of this period.*

The points to which I allude are "the arrival of some holy men from Egypt, who came to settle the faith, and the expedition of one of the Abyssinian monarchs against Dunowas, a Jewish king who had persecuted the Christian traders in Arabia." The former event has always hitherto, without any satisfactory reason, been supposed to have occurred within the years 426-80;† and the latter has been attributed to the Emperor Caleb,‡ who must have reigned as late as 570—whereas it now appears that the two events were intimately connected together, and that the conquest of Arabia took place prior to the arrival of the holy men from Egypt.

For the purpose of illustrating these facts, I shall lay before the reader the separate accounts of these transac-

* Gibbon himself remarks, after giving an account of these affairs in his history, "this narrative of obscure and remote events is not foreign to the decline and fall of the Roman empire. If a Christian power had been maintained in Arabia, Mahomet must have been crushed in his cradle, and Abyssinia would have prevented a revolution which has changed the civil and religious state of the world."

† Vide Tellez, p. 91. Geddes' Church History of Ethiopia, p. 14, and Ludolfi Comment. p. 283.

‡ Vide the same author. Ludolf fixes the date of Caleb's reign at 522.—Lib. II. c. 4. Geddes at about 530, p. 15.—and Murray at 511, p. 438, Vol. VII. of Bruce.

tions given in the native Chronicles, in the Historia Chronica of John of Antioch, as well as other Greek writers. In the first work it is related that during the reign of Ameda or Amda, arrived nine saints or holy men from Room* and Egypt, and settled the faith, one of whom, superior to all the rest, was called Arogawi,† signifying the old man, and that each built a church bearing his own name in Tigré. John Malala, after writing an account of the king of the Axomites' expedition against "Dimnus," which exactly agrees with that told by the Arabian authors against "Dunowas," proceeds to say, "that, the king of the Axomites, when he had obtained "the victory, dispatched two of his relations with two "hundred followers to Alexandria, for the purpose of "soliciting from the Emperor Justinian that a bishop "and some holy men might be sent, to instruct his sub-"jects in the mysteries of the Christian faith. The Em-"peror being informed of these things by Licinius, his "viceroy at Alexandria, gave an order that the ambassa-"dors should be allowed to make choice of whomsoever "they pleased: and they accordingly chose John, the "almsgiver of St. John in Alexandria, a good and pious "man, about sixty-two years of age; and took him, then "a bishop, together with several holy men, to their coun-"try to Anda, (or Ameda) their king;"‡ which narra-

* By Room is meant Constantinople.

† The names of the rest were Abba Alef, Tsama, Asfé, Gúba, Likanos, Yemata, Garima, and Abba Pantaleon.

‡ Joh: Malala—Chronographia, page 163, et seq. Ἐν ἀυλῷ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ συνέβη Ἰνδοὺς πολεμῆσαι πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς οἱ ὀνομαζόμενοι Αὐξουμῖται, καὶ οἱ Ὁμηρῖται, ἡ δὲ αἰτία τοῦ πολέμου αὕτη. Ὁ τῶν Αυξουμιτῶν βασιλευς ενδότερος ἐστὶ τῶν Ἀμεριτῶν, ὁ δὲ των Ομηριτῶν πλησίον ἐστὶ της Αἰγύπτου. Οι δὲ πραγματευταὶ Ρωμαίων διὰ τῶν Ομηριτῶν εἰσέρχονται εἰς την Αὐξούμην, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐνδότερα βασίλεῖα τῶν Ινδῶν· εἰσι γὰρ Ινδῶν, και Αἰθίοπων βασίλεῖα ἑπτὰ· τρία μὲν Ινδῶν, τέσσαρα δὲ Αἰθίοπων, τὰ πλησίον ὀντὰ τοῦ ὀκεανου ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνατολικὰ μέρη. Τῶν οὖν πραγματευτῶν εἰσελθόντῶν εἰς την χώραν των Ἀμεριτων, ἐπὶ τὸ ποιησασθαι πραγματείαν, ἐγνωκὼς Δίμνος ὁ βασιλεὺς των Ἀμεριτων, ἐφόνευσεν αὐτοὺς, και πάντα τὰ αὐτων ἀφείλετο, λέγων· ὅτι οἱ Ρωμαῖοι οἱ Χριςιανοὶ κακῶς ποιοῦσι τοῖς Ιυδαίοις ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν αυτων, καὶ, πολλους κατ' ἔτος φονευούσι· καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐκωλυθη η πραγματείαν. Ο δὲ των Αυξουμιτων βασιλευς ἐδηλωσε τῳ βασιλεῖ των Αμεριτων, "οτι, κακως ἐποίησας, φονευσας Ρωμαίους Χριςιανους πραγματευτὰς, καὶ ἔβλαψας τὰ ἐμὰ βασίλεῖα." Καὶ ἐκ τουτου εἰς ἔχθραν ἐτράπησαν μεγάλη, και συνέβαλον πρὸς ἀλλήλους πόλεμον. Εν τῳ δὲ μέλλειν τὸν βασιλέα των Αυξουμιτων πολεμεῖν, συνετάξατο λέγων ὅτι ἐὰν νικησω Δίμνον τὸν βασιλέα των Αμεριτων,

tive coincides so remarkably with the statement from the native Chronicles, that there can no longer exist a doubt, I conceive, that both refer to the same facts.

The same author afterwards gives an account of an embassy sent by Justinian to the Emperor of the Axomites, whom he there calls Elesbóas,* (in the Abyssinian language signifying the blessed;) thus, fortunately, identifying Anda, Ameda, and Elesboas as titles of the same sovereign. Now Cedrenus, who mentions these transactions, says, that St. Arétas, whose murder by the Homerites gave occasion to the expedition of Elesboas, died in the fifth year of the Emperor Justin;† and he also relates, "that in the fifteenth year of Justinian, Adadus" (Αδαδ, which is an evident corruption of Amda or Anda) "fought with the Homerites, and subdued their King Damianus," (Δαμιανον) likewise a corruption of "Dimnus," or Dunowas,) after which "he took possession of "the country; and in gratitude to God (ευχαριστησας τῳ θεῳ) "dispatched an embassy to the Emperor Justinian, to "send him bishops and clergymen, and all the country "was baptised and became Christians."‡ The facts in this last account agree very exactly with the others, excepting in the last statement, which appears to be somewhat incorrect; for it is evident from Cosmas and other writers, that these "holy men" had no pretensions to the honour of introducing Christianity into the country, but

Χριστιανὸς γίνομαι. Υπὲρ γὰρ των Χριστιανων πολεμω αυτῳ. Καὶ νικησας ὁ βασιλευς των Αυξουμιτων, καὶ παραλαβὼν αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον, ἀνεῖλεν αυτὸν, καὶ πᾶσαν την βοηθειαν αυτοῦ καὶ την χώραν και τα βασίλεῖα αυτου ἔλαβε. Καὶ μετὰ την νίκην ἔπεμψε συγκλητικους αυτοῦ δύο, καὶ μετ' αυτων διακοσίους ἐν Ἀλεξανδρεία, δεόμενος τοῦ βασιλέως Ιουστινιανοῦ, ὥστε λαβεῖν αυτὸν ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ κληρικους, καὶ κατηχηθηναι καὶ διδαχθηναι τὰ Χριστιανῶν μυστηρια, καὶ φωτισθηναι, καὶ πᾶσαν την Ινδικην χωραν ὑπὸ Ρωμαιους γενεσθαι. Καὶ εμηνύθη τῳ βασιλει Ιουστινιανῳ παντὰ διὰ Λικινίου, Αυγαβαλιου Αλεξανδρείας· καὶ ἐθέσπισεν ὁ αυτὸς βασιλευς, ὅντινα βούλονται ἐπίσκοπον λαβειν αυτους. Καὶ ἐτελέξαντο οἱ αὐτοὶ πρεσβυται Ινδοὶ τὸν παρα μονάριον του ἁγίου Ιωαννου του ἐν Αλεξανδρεία, ανδρα εὐλαβη, παρθενον, ονοματι Ἰωαννην ὄντα ἐνιαυτων ὡς ἑξηκοντα δύο, και λαβοντες τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ τους κληρικους οὓς αυτος επιλέξατο, απηγαγον εἰς την Ινδικην χώραν πρὸς ΑΝΔΑΝ τον βασιλέα αυτων.

* Vide p. 196, where in a note on the word Ελεσβόας, it is observed, "supra Andas vocatur *rex iste* Auxumitarum:" the account of this embassy has been quoted by Gibbon. Vol. V. p. 422.

† Vide Vol. I. p. 364. ‡ Vide p. 374.

that they merely "settled the faith;" Cosmas expressly stating, that in his time "there were churches, priests, and many Christian people throughout Ethiopia, Axum, and all the adjacent country;"* now Cosmas was at Adule, as he himself mentions, early in the reign of the Emperor Justin, and consequently several years before the arrival of the holy men from Egypt. The foregoing remarks, therefore, fix the death of Aretás to 522, or the 5th year of the Emperor Justin; Cosmas's visit to Adule to about 525; the expedition against Arabia to about 530, and the arrival of the holy men and settling of the faith to between the last period and 542.

Procopius also gives a full account of the expedition against Arabia, calling the sovereign of the Axomites, Hellesthæus.† It is singular, that it should have escaped the attention of his commentators, that the mere alteration of a single letter would restore this word to its proper form, Hell'esbæus or El esbaas, nothing being more likely to have occurred in Greek than the mistake of the ς for θ. His "Abramus"‡ is also clearly the Abreha of the Arabian authors, who afterwards conducted the war of the Elephant, and the *Hesim*aphæus may be, in all probability, the Aryat Abu *Sehem*,§ who was placed by the Abyssinian monarch as his Viceroy over Yemen.‖ It appears, also, that the embassy of Julianus sent by Justinian to persuade the Emperor Ameda to make war against the Persians, and to take the silk trade into his own hands, occurred immediately after this conquest of Yemen, during the time that Angane,¶ the Emperor of Abyssinia's nephew, remained on the throne; and on his being displaced by Abreha (or Abram, who is said to

* Vide Opinio De Mundo, p. 179. † P. 257, et seq.

‡ P. 258. § (أرياط أبو صحم) Vid. Hist. Joctan. p. 143.

‖ There exists a remarkable conformity on these subjects between Procopius and the Arabian writers.

¶ The true name of "Hesimaphæus" or "Abou-hesem," which simply means "father of Sehem," appears by John of Antioch, p. 194, to have been Αἰγάν, the same name, in all probability, as the "Aiga" found in the Chronicles. Another account of these events, agreeing in the main points, is found also in Nicephori Callisti Historiâ, Basil, 1559, L. XVII. c. 32, p. 897: but the names of the sovereigns are there still farther corrupted, though evidently taken from

have been a slave from Adulis), a second embassy was dispatched from Constantinople, a particular account of which is given by John Malala (p. 194-6), which so much gratified the Abyssinian monarch and his deputy, that the latter actually "marched out his troops on an expedition against the Persians." It was this same embassy, in all probability, which was conducted by Nonnosus, as mentioned in Photius (p. 6;) for there, as in the account given by John Malala, it is noticed that "he gained all that he sought," (tamen quæ voluit perfecit) which Julianus evidently did not accomplish.*

The advantages derived from this conquest over Yemen appear to have been very trifling; for the troops sent over became so enamoured with the country, that they permanently settled there, and soon lost every tie, except a nominal allegiance, which bound them to the mother state. About seventy years after the death of Aretas (according to the Arabian accounts) the Persians, whose consequence had revived in proportion to the degradation of the Roman empire, sent an overpowering force against the Abyssinians in Yemen; reconquered that country;† and, as it appears, gained a naval superiority in the Red Sea, the tradition of the country as-

the same source; Dunowas being called Damnus, and Andas having been changed through Adadus to David. The confusion of those names baffled the research even of the indefatigable Ludolf, (vide L. II. c. 4) who rather hastily observes, "at falsa prorsus sunt, quæ a Cedreno et Nicephoro de Adado vel Davide scribuntur!"

* This circumstance is confirmed also by Procopius, who after noticing Julianus's want of success in his embassy to Esimiphæus, remarks, "sed et Abramus postremo, qui et regnum firmissimé obtinuit, sæpe Justiniano promisit in Persidem irruptionem se facturum; semelque *tantum iter ingressus* statim remigravit."

† This was not effected by one effort; for, after the first Persian expedition, the Abyssinians recovered their power on a fresh force being sent over from the mother country, (Vide Hist. Joct. 135. Horum Habassiorum aliquis imperium iterum invasit Jemanamque cædibus miscuit atque evastavit) which was probably the expedition of the emperor Caleb, so particularly noticed in the Abyssinian Chronicles; a circumstance very likely to have swallowed up the remembrance of their other conquests, owing to its having been the last great effort made by the country; this probably occurred in about 584, two years before the death of the Persian Emperor Nushurwan, and the final conquest of Yemen must be brought down a few years later.

signing to them not only complete possession of Aden and the Arabian ports, but also of the whole of the islands and harbours on the African side of the sea; so that from this period the Abyssinians may be considered as having lost all their influence as a maritime state.

How long the superiority of the Persians continued, is uncertain: but in all probability it gave way to the rising greatness of the Mahomedan power, which soon afterwards overwhelmed all the countries adjoining Arabia; spread to the remotest parts of the East; and penetrated even across the unsocial regions of Africa; while Abyssinia, unconquered and true to the Christian faith, remained within two hundred miles of the walls of Mecca, a constant and galling opprobrium to the followers of the prophet. On this account, implacable and unceasing war ravaged her territories; the native princes on the borders being supplied with arms and money, and occasionally rewarded with splendid presents by the reigning Sheriffes, whose constant attention was directed towards the conquest of the country.

From Ameda the list of kings runs in the following succession, but no number of years is assigned to their separate reigns.

1. Ameda.
2. Tazena.
3. Caleb.
4. Guebra Mascal.
5. Constantinus.
6. Wusen Segued.
7. Fré Sennai.
8. Adieraz.
9. Akul Woodem.
10. Grim Sofer.
11. Zer gāz.
12. Degna Michael.
13. Bakr-Akla.
14. Gouma.
15. Asgoungūm.
16. Let-um.
17. Thala-tum.
18. Woddo Gúsh.
19. I zoor.
20. Didum.
21. Woodm asfar.
22. Armah.
23. Degna Jan.
24. Ambasa Woodim
25. Dilnaad.

In the time of Dilnaad, a woman of the name of Gudit* overthrew the reigning dynasty, and, after destroying

* So called in the Geez: but in Amharic, she is styled Assaat, or fire.

Axum, removed the seat of empire to Lasta, the descendants of the royal family having fled to Shoa. This event is supposed to have occurred in about A. D. 925, a space of three hundred and fifty-four years being allowed in the chronicles for the whole duration of the reigns of the above mentioned kings.

During this period, and indeed up to the year 1255, very little is known respecting the affairs of the country; the only mention of them in the Arabian authors consisting of an occasional notice of their sending for an Abuna from Egypt,* and the chronicles themselves containing the names of a few only of the latter emperors.†

In about 1255, or thereabouts, Icon-Amlac recovered the whole kingdom through the abilities of an ecclesiastic named Tecla Haimanot; but still, owing to the necessity of keeping up a constant opposition to the Mahomedans, who had become very powerful on the eastern frontiers, he was obliged to continue his residence in Shoa.

The sovereigns who succeeded Icon Amlac have the following periods assigned to them in the Chronicles.

Icon Amlac - - - -	from 1255	to 1269
Woodem Arad - - - -	1269	1284
Kudma Asgud, Asfa-Asgud, Sinfa Asgud - - - -	1284	1287
Bar Asgud - - - - -	1287	1292
Egba Sion - - - - -	1292	1301
Amda Sion - - - - -	1301	1331

* Vide Elmacini Saraceni Hist. in Purchas, 1032, Vol. V. and Abdullatif. Paris. p. 334, 1810.

† One of these, however, (named Lalibala) was very distinguished on account of the churches which he built in Lasta, (before described) and from a successful attempt which he is said to have made, to turn the course of the Nile. This story is also recorded in the Arabian histories of Egypt, and is attributed to the years 831 of the Dioclesian æra, or A. D. 1095. The ignorance of the times may have favoured the opinion of the possibility of such an undertaking: but in all probability, the only source of a river over which Lalibala had a command, was that of the Tacazze, which takes its origin in Lasta. The names of the monarchs sprung from the legitimate branch which fled to Shoa, are given in the Chronicles as follow: after Dilnād came Maimersa Woodîm, then Agva Sion, Sin Fārat, Negush Záree, Atzfé, Yakoob, Birasgud, Asgúd, Woodem Asgúd; and their reigns are said to have occupied 330 years, which brings the history down to the period of 1255.

Séf Arad - - - -	from 1331 to	1359
Grim'asfaré - - - - -	1359	1369
David - - - - - - -	1369	1401
Theodorus - - - - -	1401	1402
Isaac - - - - - - -	1402	1417
Andreas - - - - -	1417	1424
Hesbinaan - - - - -	1424	1429
Amda Yasous, Béd el Nain, Isba Nain	1429	1434
Zara Yacob - - - - -	1434	1468
Beda Mariam - - - -	1468	1478
Secunder his son, Amda Sion -	1478	1494
Náod - - - - - - -	1494	1507
Levana Denghel, David - -	1507	1539
Claudius - - - - -	1539	1558
Menas Adamas Segued - - -	1558	1562
Sertza Denghel, or Malac Segued, and his son Yakob, Za Denghel	1562	1604
Yakob, restored - - - -	1604	1607
Socinius - - - - -	1607	1632
Facilidas* - - - - -	1632	1665
Yohannis - - - - -	1665	1680
Yasous Tallac - - - -	1680	1699
Tecla Haimanot - - - -	1699	1706
Theophilus - - - - -	1706	1709
Oustas - - - - -	1709	1714
David - - - - - - -	1714	1719
Bacuffa - - - - -	1719	1729
Yasous - - - - -	1729	1753
Ayto Yoas - - - - -	1753	1769

Thus far the list is copied from the Chronicles. The succeeding sovereigns, as I was informed in the country, have been

	Years.		Years.
Tecla Haimanot, who reigned - - -	8	Bæda Mariam† reigned	2
Solomon† - - -	2	Yunus† - two months.	
Tecla Georgis† -	5	Adimo - - -	2
Yasous - - -	4	Ayto Gualo,† or Egwala Sion, who still continues to reign -	14
Haimanot - - -	1		
Iskias† - - -	6		

* He lived at Emfras and Dancas, and built Gondar.

† Of these latter kings the six marked thus † are still alive.

Marco Polo, who visited the East early in the thirteenth century, confirms the Chronicles of that period by his account of the country, and mention of a successful campaign which the reigning sovereign undertook against the Moors, in consequence of an affront offered to one of his priests, whom he had commissioned to carry his offerings to Jerusalem. This campaign is attributed to the year 1288 by Ramusio,* which in all probability applies to the conquests of Amda Sion, related in Mr. Bruce's Travels, Vol. III. p. 41 et seq. as extracted from the Chronicles; and therefore the reign of that sovereign should, I conceive, be carried back about twenty years, or rather more; a difference that will not appear extraordinary, when it be considered that the period assigned for that king's reign was ascertained merely by computing back from the time of Yoas.†

In this narrative of Amda Sion's wars, which is an important point in the history of Abyssinia, much confusion has been introduced into Mr. Bruce's account, owing to the slight knowledge then existing of the geography of the country; for, from his entertaining a supposition of Zeyla being an island, he was under the necessity of imagining that there were two towns of the same name; and has placed the one taken by Amda Sion about seven degrees to the south of the other, and carried the advance of the armies to an inconceivable distance beyond its actual progress, which, at that time, evidently extended no further than the ancient and present town of Zeyla, situated on a peninsula; the principal object of the war having been to open a free communication with the coast.

About this same time, an account is given by Ibn'el Wardi, an Arabian author, respecting the country, which, as it has not, I believe, before appeared in English, I have inserted with a translation of Marco Polo's, in the Ap-

* Ramusio, Viaggi di Marco Polo, p. 59, Lib. III. (In the "Voyages de Bergeron," which Geddes in his Eccles. Hist. has copied, this event is erroneously attributed to 1258.)

† The necessity of this correction is confirmed, in some degree, by a list which I brought to England, a translation of which I have made use of, which makes a difference of about 13 years from that given by Mr. Bruce.

pendix. Throughout this period a regular communication appears to have been kept up between Abyssinia and Europe: and in 1445, Zara Jacob, then reigning, sent an ambassador to the council of Florence, and wrote some interesting letters to his priests at Jerusalem, which are still extant in the Church History of Abyssinia by Geddes, (vide p. 27.)

It affords an interesting subject for reflection, to trace occasionally the fortuitous course of events, by which the most important changes in the affairs of the world have been brought about. It may not therefore be foreign to the object I have in view, to observe that, owing to the slight connection kept up by the Abyssinian Church with Europe, we may perhaps be indebted for our knowledge of India and the discovery of a passage round the Cape of Good Hope; as it was in consequence of the flattering accounts which the Abyssinian priests delivered at Jerusalem respecting the Eastern Empires and their commerce with the south, that the attention of learned men was first excited to the subject, and that the princes of Portugal were induced, subsequently, to send their emissaries into the East. To one of these agents, named Peter Covilham, we are indebted for the renewal of a more extended intercourse with Abyssinia; as in 1490 he succeeded in reaching the court of the Negush, at that time held in Shoa: and shortly afterwards, owing to his representation, the reigning Queen-mother, or Iteghé, was induced to send Matthew, an Armenian, as her ambassador to Portugal, for the purpose of opening a direct communication with that country.*

The arrival of this mission produced a strong impression in Europe respecting Abyssinia; and in return an embassy was sent back with Matthew, consisting of several Portuguese gentlemen of different professions, which, after many unforeseen difficulties and considerable delay, arrived safely, in 1520, at Massowa. A very interesting narrative of the transactions which occurred during its stay in Abyssinia, was subsequently published by Francis

* An account of this embassy is given in Legatio Magni Indorum presb: Joan: ad Emanuel Lusitaniæ, Anno, 1513, by Damiana Goez, (Antwerp, 1552,) which appears to be very fairly drawn up, though his information is far from correct.

Alvarez, secretary and chaplain to the mission: and the detail of a journey through Tigré, Lasta, and Amhara, which he has there introduced, contains much geographical and other valuable information.* After staying six years in the country, Alvarez and his companions (with the exception of two, named P. Andrad, and J. Bermudez) returned to Europe, bearing letters from the Emperor David to King John of Portugal, accompanied by a native of the country, Zaga Zabo, whose arrival induced the Church of Rome to entertain sanguine hopes of the conversion of Abyssinia, a circumstance which was eagerly laid hold of by the different ecclesiastical societies at that time so formidable in Europe, as a means of extending their respective influence.†

Meantime the country itself became in danger of being over-run by a ferocious Mahomedan chieftain, named Gragné, who ruled the kingdom of Arar or Hurrur, which lies eastward of Shoa, the success of whose incursions induced the Emperor to send one of the Portuguese, named Bermudez, who had been left in Abyssinia, to solicit

* Vide Alvarez (Fran.) Verdadeira Informacam das terras do preste Joam das Indias. Lixb. 1540, fol. (British Museum.) His narrative is to be found also in the "Viaggi" of Ramusio, L. i. p. 189, who translated it from a Portuguese manuscript, sent to him by Damiana of Goez, which differs from that published at Lisbon, and is considered as in some respects superior to it. The ground plans of the excavated churches are wanting in the Lisbon edition. I have myself a French edition translated from Ramusio, published at Antwerp, 1558, and I have seen a Spanish copy of the same: an English epitome of it is given in Purchas, (Part II.) 1026.

† The convent of St. Stephano was about this time founded for the Abyssinians at Rome. Abraham Peritsol, in his Itinera Mundi, seems to allude to the Abyssinian monks, when he says, "Et quoque in Roma est istorum Sacerdotum nigritarum societas una numero fere 30, habitantes in Excelso uno novo quod de novo fundatum est nomini ipsorum." Dr. Hyde, the learned translator of this work, has fallen into a singular error respecting these black priests; for he supposes, that the epithet "nigritarum" was given them on account of their black garments (propter habitum nigrum, in contrarium Sacerdotum Judæorum qui albis indui solebant,) and in enquiring into what society this could be, he conjectures, as the society of Jesuits (Jesuitarum) was not established in 1525, when the book was written, to whom alone he could attribute an interference in Eastern affairs, that it must have been Societas Jesuatorum, of whom he finds a notice in an obscure author, a specimen of criticism worthy of some of the later commentators on Shakspeare.

immediate assistance from the King of Portugal, at the same time promising unqualified submission to the Pope. In 1540, Bermudez, after having been appointed by Paul III. to the high rank of Patriarch of Ethiopia, returned back to Abyssinia, and was accompanied by Don Christopher De Gama, with a force of four hundred soldiers, and a considerable supply of arms. This timely assistance changed the face of affairs: and Abyssinia, through the efforts of these brave men, who in the struggle suffered severely, and had to lament the fall of their leader, was rescued from the attacks of the Mahomedans, with the loss, however, of a considerable part of its southern possessions; which occasioned the court being removed for security to the mountainous district of Samen. A narrative of these transactions was afterwards published by Bermudez himself,* containing a very candid statement of all that passed; from which it appears, that owing to his own intemperate zeal in the cause he had espoused, he not only fell into disgrace with the Emperor Claudius, but even with his own countrymen, who almost unanimously disclaimed his authority.

About this period, at the urgent remonstrances of a very distinguished Abyssinian priest, named Peter, who had arrived in Europe, Ignatius, the founder of the Jesuits, undertook the conversion of Abyssinia; but the Pope objecting to his going into those remote regions, two distinguished prelates of his order, Nunez Baretto, and Andrew Oviedo, were appointed, under his sanction, to take charge of a mission to that country. The first of these died in India; but the latter arrived safely in Abyssinia, early in 1557; and continued to reside there the remainder of his life, greatly advancing the interests of the Catholic religion by his prudence, magnanimity, and forbearance; qualities which made him universally respected throughout the country. This venerable patri-

* Vide relation do Embaixada gõ. Joaõ Bermudez trouxe do Emperador da Ethiopia. Lixb. 1565, small quarto, (British Museum.) This book is extremely scarce; Ludolf himself (vide Comm. p. 6,) never having been able to get a sight of it; on which account he refers his readers to the translation of it in Purchas, for which, vide Part II. p. 1149.

arch died in 1577.* During his stay, particularly in the reign of Sertza Denghil, the Galla became very formidable from their incursions into the southern provinces, and about the same time the Turks took possession of Massowa and the sea-coast; in consequence of which, the country was rendered extremely difficult of access.† At length, in 1599, an adventurous monk named Belchior da Sylva, gained admittance in the disguise of a faquier, and continued there alone, till the arrival of Peter Paez. The latter, who proved to be a far more able man than any other who had been sent into the country, entered Abyssinia in 1603;‡ and in the following year proceeded to court, where he shortly gained so complete an ascendency over the mind of the reigning prince, as to induce him to send letters to Europe with offers of submission to the Roman See; and in a subsequent reign, obtained the grand object for which the Jesuits had so long contended; the Emperor Socinius, his brother, Ras Sela Christos, and all the nobles of the court publicly and solemnly proclaiming their adhesion to the Roman Catholic Faith. Peter Paez, however, who by his extraordinary abilities seems to have accomplished this important change in the religion of the country, did not long survive to witness its effects; for in the same year he died at Gorgora, universally lamented by the Abys-

* Vide De Æthiopiæ patriarchis J. N. Baretto et Andrea Oviedo, P. N. Godigno. Lugduni, 1615, a book which contains much curious matter respecting Abyssinia, though like most other works written by the monks of that order, it must be consulted with great caution.

† One of the fathers belonging to the last mission, F. Francis Lopez, is said to have survived his companions until so late as 1597.

‡ Mr. Bruce (vide Vol. III. p. 264,) has by mistake attributed the coming of Father Paez to the year 1600, and hence has given him great praise for keeping so long from Court; but Father Tellez, who enters minutely into the transactions of these times, positively states, that he set out from Mazua on the 5th of May, 1603, giving other particulars which make the fact indubitable. Vide Lib. III. Chap. XIII. p. 239. Mr. Bruce has also made a similar mistake respecting Belchior da Sylva, whom he calls Melchior Sylvanus, whose arrival he fixes to 1597, and return to 1600; whereas he arrived in March, 1599, and stayed six years. Vide Tellez, Lib. III. Chap. XI. p. 234. Port. edit.

sinians, as well as by his own countrymen; his death proving an irreparable loss to the cause which he had supported.* In December, 1623, Father Emanuel D'Almeyda and some other priests reached Massowa, and travelled up by way of Adegada, where they were met by a company of six hundred armed men; and thence they proceeded across the plain of Serawé, and partly along the course of the Mareb, until they arrived at Fremona. A very interesting account of this journey is to be met with in a work subsequently compiled by Father Almeyda, of which there at present remains only an abridgment by Tellez.† Father Almeyda continued ten years in the country, during which period he seems to have been employed chiefly in collecting materials for his history.

The next and last patriarch sent into Abyssinia was Don Alfonzo Mendez,‡ who arrived in 1625; a man of

* Peter Paez left behind him an ample account of the affairs of Ethiopia, a MS. of which is said to exist at Rome in the secretary's office of the crown of Portugal, reaching from 1555 to 1622. P. Bal. Tellez has made great use of it in his celebrated work: and some valuable extracts from it are to be found in the Œdipus Ægypt. by Kircher, giving an exact description of the sources of the Nile, which he visited in 1618.

† Vide Historia Geral de Ethiopia a alta ou Preste Joam edo que nella obraram os padres da companhia de Jesus composta na mesma Ethiopia pelo padre Manoel D'Almeyda, &c. Abbreviada com nova releuçam e methodo pelo padre Balthazar Tellez, &c. a Coimbra, 1660; to be found in the British Museum. A translation or rather abridgment of this was published in English under the title of "The Travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia," in "A new Collection of Voyages and Travels," Vol. II. London, by Knapton, &c. 1711. An extract from this book was also published by Thevenot under the title of Histoire de la haute Ethiopie, écrite sur les lieux, par le R. P. Manoel D'Almeida, Jesuite. The abridgment of Tellez above mentioned is undoubtedly the most valuable work now existing on Abyssinian affairs: and there are said to be only three copies of it in England.

‡ He also published an account of Abyssinia, the only copy of which, that I have seen, is a French translation, entitled "Relation du Reverendissime Patriarche D'Ethiopie Dom Alphonze Mendez, touchant la conversion des ames qui s'est faite en cet empire depuis l'année 1629. Envoyé au Pere Viteleschi, &c. Traduite du Portugais, p. B. Cordose Med. A Lille, 1633. (British Museum.) Ludolf in his Commentaries erroneously remarks, "verum ista historia lucem non vidit," which proves, at least, the scarcity of the work. Jerome Lobo, whose work is well known, attended in the

singular courage and undaunted perseverance, but whose disposition appears not to have been very well adapted for conciliatory measures, which appear at that time to have been peculiarly called for to insure the adherence of the Abyssinians to the new-established faith. In 1628, the Catholic influence was considered at its highest pitch; no less than nineteen priests of the society of the Jesuits having fixed their residence in the country. Their power, however, was of short duration; for the injudicious conduct of the patriarch, and the intemperate zeal of their great patron, Ras Sela Christos, brought on a rebellious commotion in the country, which soon destroyed all their projects. The Emperor Socinius was himself compelled to abjure the Roman Catholic doctrines: and his son, who shortly afterwards succeeded to the crown, in 1632 expelled the patriarch and his whole flock from the country; two only, who were daring enough to stay behind, having been publicly executed in 1640.*

The whole period of this persevering attempt to convert the Abyssinians to the Roman Catholic faith may be considered as having occupied a space of one hundred and fourteen years,† during which a continual strug-

suite of this patriarch. The translations of his work by Le Grand and Johnson have been before referred to; the original is not known to be extant.

* An English ship visited Suakin in 1648, where three of the fathers of the Minori Reformati di S. Francesco, sent by the Propaganda, attempting to penetrate into the country, had been executed; and three more were discovered in Abyssinia in 1674, who had converted Oustas, styled the Usurper, who were all put to death.

† Of the letters written during the above period, which have been separately published, I have met with the following only:

1st. Nuove e curiose lettere del Ethiopia annualmente al Rev. P. N. Viteleschi, &c. da Dembea, 1617, dal Pietro Paez, e altera scritta da Goa, 1620, per Michael della Pace, published at Firenze, 1622.

2nd. Litteræ Æthiopicæ pp. Societ. Jesu—de prop. fide apud Abissinos ab ineunte Julio 1623, ad exitum Aprilis 1624, published Gandavi, 1626. These letters appear to have been communicated by Father Almeyda, and contain very interesting details concerning the existing state of affairs.

3rd. Histoire de l'Ethiopie es années 1624-5 and 6. Traduite de l'Italien p. Alphonze Patriarche de l'Ethiopie, Paris, 1629, and Gaspard Paez, dated July, 1629.

4th. Histoire de l'Ethiopie en l'année 1626 jusques 1629. Traduite de l'Italien—de Gorgora, par Emanuel Almeida, Paris, 1629. All these are at present in the collection of Lord Valentia, who obligingly lent them to me.

gle was maintained between the people and its monarchs, the former appearing to have been uniformly averse from the doctrines which the Jesuits attempted to introduce. After the expulsion of these priests, the Abyssinian Empire seems to have enjoyed an interval of rest; the seat of government became settled at Gondar, which was built by Facilidas;* and the court regained a considerable portion of its former splendour, as appears by the testimony of Mons. Poncet, a French traveller, who visited the country in 1699. Fortunately for the success of his mission, this gentleman lost his companion, Father Brevedent, a Franciscan friar, on the way, whose purpose, like that of his predecessors, would in all probability have occasioned their destruction.

The Society of the Propaganda had not yet, however, given up its views on Abyssinia; for so late as the year 1750, a fresh mission was sent into the country, consisting of three Franciscan friars named P. Remedio and Martino of Bohemia, and Antonio of Aleppo, who succeeded in penetrating as far as Gondar in the time of Yasous† the Second, where they rose into great favour with that Emperor, as well as with the Queen-mother or Iteghé,‡ and many of the principal noblemen about the court. The account of this mission is contained in the MS. of an Italian Journal, now in the possession of Lord Valentia. On first meeting with this narrative, I was led to doubt its authenticity, from not having seen any notice of such a mission either in Mr. Bruce's travels or elsewhere: but I have subsequently ascertained several circumstances, which seem to place its credit beyond dispute; these consist of the correct

* The court during the preceding reigns had successively resided at Coja, Ibaba, Gorgora, Dancaz, Kaha, &c., as circumstances rendered most convenient.

† The Emperor Yasous reigned from 29 to 53, as is rightly stated in Mr. Bruce, Vol. IV. Mr. Murray has, by mistake, fixed his death to 6th June, 1745, which is incorrect.

‡ This was the Iteghé Welleta Georgis, who afterwards proved herself so great a friend to Mr. Bruce during his stay in the country. Bruce himself notices in Vol. IV. p. 101, "that she had a warm attachment to the Catholic religion in her heart;" and there appears to be a confused account of the disturbance occasioned by the arrival of these priests in Vol. IV. p. 111-117, where the event is evidently misdated.

mention of the names which the two Emperors, Bacuffa and Yasous, assumed on their coming to the crown, the notice of the Queen-mother, and other trifling facts, which could not easily have been fabricated; and, lastly, of an observation in Mr. Bruce's original memoranda, Appendix Vol. VII. p. 65, which proves that his great friend, Ayto Aylo had actually been won over to the Roman faith by one of these very monks; it being there incidentally noticed that "*he* (Ayto Aylo) *had been converted by Father Antonio, a Franciscan*, in 1750."* This observation, which, for evident reasons, had been kept back in the original travels, affords so convincing a proof of the voyage being genuine, that I have been induced to give a translation of it in the Appendix, and it may be considered, in all probability, as containing an account of the last effort of the "Propaganda" in this hopeless cause.

In 1769, Mr. Bruce commenced his hazardous enterprize into the country, the fruits of which have been given to the public: † and from the period of his return, up to my first visit in 1805, no other traveller had succeeded in gaining admittance into Abyssinia. Having thus shortly sketched out all the sources of information which may tend to elucidate the Abyssinian history, it is unnecessary for me to dwell longer on this subject: and I shall therefore proceed to close my volume with a few general remarks on the present situation of the country.

The present state of Abyssinia may with justice be compared to that of England previously to the time of Alfred; the government of the country being formed on the model of a complete feudal system. The constant

* The mistake of one year in the date, as Mr. Bruce received his information from oral testimony, cannot in any degree invalidate the fact. It may be noticed as a farther confirmation of it, that I myself met with an Arabic testament in the country, which seems to have belonged to these monks. Vide Lord Valentia's Travels, Vol. III. p. 210.

† Mr. Bruce, besides adding largely to our stock of general information, brought to our knowledge several new genera of plants, as well as some valuable descriptions of rare animals. He also has the honour of having first introduced into Europe a complete copy of the Scriptures, and a set of the Abyssinian Chronicles, in the Ethiopic language; which valuable collection of MSS. still remains in the hands of the family.

disputes on the borders, the dissensions among the several chiefs, the usurpation of power by a few of the more considerable of the nobles, the degraded condition of the sovereign, and the frequent incursions of a barbarous enemy, too strongly bear out the comparison: though I fear that the result of the struggle in which Abyssinia has for so long a time been engaged, is not likely to terminate in so favourable a manner as that which ensued in our own country, owing to a variety of causes, which it would be here foreign to my purpose to enumerate. At this time I consider Abyssinia as actually divided into three distinctly independent states; the separation of which has partly arisen from natural causes, and partly from the intervention of barbarous tribes of Galla, as may be seen by a reference to the general map given in this work, which I have thought it advisable to have coloured, for the purpose of more accurately marking out their respective limits.

The high range of mountains in Samen, extending from Waldubha to the south of Lasta, together with the line of the Tacazze, which shapes its course north-easterly along its base, sufficiently point out the boundaries of the two larger divisions of Tigré and Amhara: and when we consider, in addition to these natural obstacles to communication, that the inhabitants of both countries speak distinct languages, and are so materially different in character, it can only remain matter of surprise, that they ever became united under one government. In fact, the union appears at no period of time to have been very cordial; the conquest of one by the other has been frequently effected; but the possession of either state has been always held by very precarious tenure; a natural jealousy existing between the two classes of natives, which renders impracticable all attempts at establishing any intimate or permanent connection between them. The alliance of Tigré with Amhara was indeed more uninterrupted while the latter held the whole southern range of country; but when the irruptions of the Galla had weakened it by breaking off the provinces of Shoa and Efat, Tigré regained its independence; and though it has since been nominally held by a Viceroy, under the orders

of the Emperor, yet it has not unfrequently assumed the right of nominating that sovereign to his crown.

The territories coloured yellow in the map are either subject to the command, or acknowledge the influence of Ras Welled Selassé, forming the division commonly passing under the appellation of Tigré, which may be considered as the more powerful state of the three; a circumstance arising from the natural strength of the country, the warlike disposition of its inhabitants, and its vicinity to the sea-coast; an advantage that has secured to it the monopoly of all the musquets imported into the country, and what is of still more consequence, of all the salt required for the consumption of the interior. The kingdom of Tigré is bounded by the Bekla, Boja, Takué, and several wild tribes of Shangalla on the north; by the mountains of Samen on the west; and by the Danákil, Doba, and Galla, on the east and south; comprehending an extent of about four degrees in latitude, and about the same in a longitudinal direction, and forming in shape the irregular figure of a trapezium. The separate divisions and sub-divisions, in this portion of Abyssinia, are extremely numerous, of which I shall endeavour to convey a concise idea, by arranging them under a few general heads, which may be termed provinces, premising, at the same time, that the minor districts are often spoken of by the Abyssinians in terms of equal importance with the larger, thereby introducing into their accounts a confusion that is very difficult to unravel.

I shall begin according to the mode generally practised by the Abyssinians themselves, with the central province of Tigré proper, which has given its name to the whole; and shall then proceed south-eastward, and take a kind of general survey of the remainder.

The high range of mountains, in the neighbourhood of Adowa, runs down the centre of Tigré proper. This province is bounded on the north by the river Mareb; on the east, by Agame; on the west, by Shiré; and on the south, by the river Warré, which takes its rise eastward of Haramat, and runs by Gullibudda and Temben to the Tacazze. It contains within its limits the minor districts of Adét, Adowa, Gundufta, Kella,

Devra-Damo, Haramat,* Amba-Sanet, Tsai, Tsama, and Abba Garima, with many others of inferior note; and its general character is that of a range of hill-forts, or "ambas," intersected by deep gullies and highly cultivated plains.

To the east of Tigré proper lies the province of Agamé, a rich and fertile territory, owing in a great measure to its being situated on a level at a considerable elevation above the sea, which in the torrid climates generally insures these advantages. It has for its eastern frontier part of the lofty ridge of mountains which extends from Senafé to Taranta: and its strong holds bordering on the Taltal, together with its vicinity to the salt-plain, render it of great importance in the country. The chief town is Genata, and the smaller "gúltas" of Seraxo, Shihah, Calaut, Adegraat, Gullimuckida, Gunde Gunde, and Agro, are comprehended within its limits.

To the southward of Agamé a considerable number of petty districts are found in the neighbourhood of Senafé, which may properly be considered as forming a part of the province of Enderta, to which, in fact, they have for a long time been subordinate: these consist of Derra, Asme, Womburta, Désa, Muntille, and Monos, mountainous districts, forming by their position the eastern boundaries of Tigré. Besides these, Enderta embraces within its limits the territories of Moculla, Dirbah, Gambela, together with Upper and Lower Gibba, to which I shall add Wazza, Saharti, and Giralta, though these are sometimes enumerated among the distinct provinces. The capital of Enderta is Antálo,† a town admirably calculated by its position for the protection of the southern provinces against the Galla, on which account it has been selected for his residence by the Ras.

Below this province, to the south, lies a long strip of country, running in an east and west direction, called Wojjerat; the inhabitants of this district are celebrated for their conquest of the Doba, a tribe of negroes resid-

* The inhabitants of this province are famous for their skill in cooking. The district is commanded at present by Ayto Welled Afsge, son of Guebra Mascal.

† Chelicut may be considered only as a country residence attached to Antálo.

ing on their frontier. Wojjerat is a wild country, abounding with elephants, lions, rhinoceroses, and every species of game.* It is said that in this province the rains are not so periodical as in the rest of Tigré, owing possibly to the extensive forests with which the country is covered. Between Wojjerat and Lasta lies a small and low district called Wofila, bordering on the lake Ashangee; here the Galla have become mixed with the natives of the country, many of the former professing the Christian religion.

The rugged and almost inaccessible mountains which form the province of Lasta, have been before noticed. It is frequently called by the Portuguese writers Bugné: but for what reason I could never ascertain; as that name is at present unknown in the country. Bora and Salowa also form two mountainous districts northward of Lasta: and between them and the Tacazze lie the comparatively low countries of Waag and Gualiu, which are inhabited by Christian Agows.

Still advancing northward, the province of Avergale follows in succession, consisting of a narrow line of country, which extends about fifty miles in a north and south direction, along the eastern bank of the Tacazze. This district is also in the hands of the Agows, of whose manners and language some account has been before given. I have in addition to remark, that their buildings seem invariably to be put together without mortar, and that the better sort of houses are constructed in the characteristic form of ancient Egyptian temples. On the eastward side of the Tacazze, in this latitude, rises the lofty province of Samen, which may undoubtedly be considered as the highest point of land in Abyssinia; the whole range of its mountains extending in a northerly and

* This province is famous for its white honey, which is brought in great quantities to the market of Antalo. The mode of domesticating the bees which is practised by the natives is as follows. Having found a wild hive, they hang near it a wooden box, called muggil, rubbed over with old honey, the only access to which is through a small hole in one of the sides. The bees, allured by this stratagem, collect in great numbers in the box, which when the owner perceives, he goes at night, closes up the box, and carries it home to his own habitation. Here they soon become attached, and form their cells in square compartments prepared for them in the walls, which in this part of the country are generally constructed of mud.

southerly direction, about eighty miles. A fresh attempt has been made since I visited Abyssinia to dispossess the Ras of his influence over this province; but the attempt, like many others undertaken during his continuance in power, completely failed. Between the northern part of Samen and Tigré proper, extends the valuable province of Temben, subdivided again into several shummuts (or districts) under different chiefs, many of whom I became acquainted with during my stay in the country. The principal of these is Shum Temben Guebra Michael, who, from having distinguished himself particularly in the war with Gojee, is highly respected by the Ras, and thought likely to succeed to his power. The houses in this province, like those in Avergale, bear a resemblance to Egyptian temples, and the inhabitants plait their hair in the same manner as the soldiers of Lasta.

Above Temben, to the westward of Axum, is situated the province of Shiré, which forms a pretty sharp angle with the Tacazze in latitude 14°; and on the opposite side of the river extend still farther westward the districts of Waldubba and Walkayt, both of which continue to pay tribute to the Ras. The flowery meadows, shady groves, and rich vallies, with which the former abounds, are celebrated for the resort of numerous pilgrims, professedly devout, who clothe themselves in a yellow dress, with a cord round their waists, and pass their time there in religious and secluded retirement; but the satirical vein of pleasantry which distinguishes the Tigrians ascribes to them more unseemly motives: and scandal does not hesitate to say that Love, not of the purest kind, presides over their retreat.

I have now only to notice the remaining portion of Tigré, commonly called the kingdom of the Baharnegash, which may be considered as comprising the districts of Hamazen, Kōte, Seah, Kúde Falasha, Egella, Serawé,* Maisella,† Dixan, Halai, Tsama, (commanded by Baharnegash Subhart) Logo, Rivai-Munnai, Gehasé, (De-

* Tudde Ayto rules over the Serawé, and is now dependent on the Ras.

† Governed by Ayto Gasso, a servant of the Ras.

bib's district) and Zewan Búr,* or Upper Búr, the district of Shum Woldo, which are all now ruled by separate chieftains, styled either Shum, Kantiba, or Baharnegash, of whom I have had occasion to speak sufficiently in the course of my different journies through their respective territories.

The second division of Abyssinia (coloured blue in the map) is always termed by the natives of the country Amhara, an appellation, in all probability, retained on account of the language prevailing there, notwithstanding that the province,† properly so called, has been, for a long time, almost entirely in the possession of the Galla. This division comprehends the provinces of Begemder, Menna, Belessen, Foggora, Dembea, Tcherkin, Kuara, Tchelga, Maitsha, Gojam, and Damot, the whole of which may be considered, at present, as under the command of a chief called Guxo, the great opponent of Ras Welled Selassé. This chief, in the first instance, held the command over Begemder and the eastern provinces only, having succeeded, in fact, to the power held by Powussen during the time of Mr. Bruce's visit to the country; but he afterwards greatly increased his consequence by the conquest of Zoldi, a celebrated chief who succeeded to the power of Fasil in the provinces of Damot and Gojam. This latter was highly celebrated for

* This word means "pass," and has a connection with the Búr taakti or lower Búr in the hands of the Hazorta on the coast. These constituted, I have no doubt, the great road from Adulé to Axum.

† The Galla, who have conquered Amhara, have since adopted, in a great measure, the more civilized manners of the Abyssinians, dressing in the same way, and living in the same style. The following names of districts in Amhara (mentioned by Ludolf) were recognized by intelligent persons with whom I conversed on the subject at Chelicut, though, as their relative situations could not be ascertained, many of them have not been inserted in the map; Anbasit, Atronsa-Mariam, (under the rule of Liban, but still inhabited by Christians) Barara, Beda Gadel, Daj, Demah, Feras Bahr (under Gusmati Tumro, dependent on Liban, inhabitants still Christians) Ganeta-Georgis, Gel, Geshen, Makana Selassé, bordering on Shoa and under the rule of that province, Malza (under Liban,) Shelga, (near Lasta) Zedbaba Mariam, Waro, (under Liban) Wanz Egr (near Feras 'l Bahar, and on the borders of the Bashilo) and Zar-amba, inhabited by Christians, under Liban, on the borders of Shoa.

his courage as a "jagonah:" but in his last battle was deserted by the troops of Gojam, who are become notorious for their treachery; and by this means fell into the hands of Guxo, who has since kept him closely confined at Gondar, though he dare not put him to death through fear of Ras Welled Selassé, to whom Zoldi had been always strongly attached. The annexation of the provinces of Gojam and Damot to those which he before commanded, rendered Guxo's power absolute on the western side of the Tacazze, which he has continued to keep up by means of his connection with the southern Galla, to whom he is both by birth and manners intimately allied; and he has lately attached them more firmly to him by erecting a splendid house in their country on the southern borders of the lake of Dembea. The strength of his army depends chiefly on his cavalry, drawn from the province of Begemder;* and of these he is said to be able to bring twenty thousand into the field; but even this numerous body constitutes a force very inadequate to offensive war against an enemy whose habitations may be properly described as "resting upon the hills." The government of Guxo is said to be guided by no principle of justice; the king lives in almost total neglect, with only a few attendants, at Gondar, the capital of Dembea:† and a poor man is afraid to wear a good cloth there, lest it should be stripped from his back by a ferocious Galla.

The third or southern division of Abyssinia, (coloured green in the map) which is now entirely separated from the others by the Galla, consists of the united provinces of Shoa and Efat.

The province of Efat lies between the 9th and 11th degree of latitude, and is described as a high tract of land running north and south, gradually declining on

* The following names of places were recognized in Begemder. Anjabet, Esté near Lasta and governed by Shoote Aylo, Gúna, Makét near Angote, Mashalama, Nefas Musa, Smada, Tiama, Wudo, and Wainadga, which latter place is famous for its grapes.

† Dembea is commanded by a dependent of Guxo; yet, notwithstanding the enmity between these chiefs and Ras Welled Selassé, a considerable intercourse is carried on from Gondar to Adowa, as well as Antálo, by the two separate roads of Lamalmon and Inchetkaub.

either side into a Kolla, or low plain, and casting off a number of small streams both in an easterly and westerly direction, some of which fall into the Nile on one side, and the rest into the Hawush on the other; two branches of which latter river are said partly to encircle the province. The capital of Efat is called Ankober, where the ruler of the country, styled Murd-azimaj, always resides, who may now justly be considered as an independent sovereign, the government having descended for many generations in a right line from father to son. The present Murd-azimaj is named Wussen Segued, who is the son of Asfar Wussen, and grandson of the Yasous mentioned by Mr. Bruce. The country which he commands is acknowledged, even by the Tigrians, to form one of the finest portions of Abyssinia, and his power is said to equal that of Ras Welled Selassé; the force which he can bring into the field chiefly consisting of horsemen, much celebrated for their courage in battle. This chief keeps up a pretty regular intercourse both with Gondar and Antálo, his friendship being cultivated by the rulers of these respective towns, on account of the valuable presents of horses which he occasionally sends them, though the communication between the several states is extremely difficult, owing to the tribes of Galla intervening; a circumstance which often occasions the messengers, sent on these errands, a delay of many months before they can reach their destinations.

The province of Shoa lies, throughout, on a lower level than Efat; and is much celebrated for its fine pasturage and fertile vallies, containing many large towns, and an immense number of monasteries. The dependent districts, most worthy of notice, are Walaka and Gidm; the former was little known to my informants, and the latter, which lies northward of Efat, had lately rebelled at the instigation of a younger brother of Wussen Segued, who was reported to have gone over to the Musselmaun faith; in consequence of which a strong force had been sent out against him, and no doubt seemed to be entertained of the insurrection being speedily quelled. From the various accounts which I received of the above provinces, there is just reason to suppose that Ethiopic literature might be found in a more flourishing condition

there than in any other part of Abyssinia; and that the inhabitants retain more of the ancient customs and peculiar manners of their forefathers than either of the other two states, which, together with them, once constituted the empire of Abyssinia.

The effect of my late journies has tended to increase the preponderance of Tigré: and it appears to me that the only plan, which offers a hope of restoring any thing like a regular form of government into the distracted country of Abyssinia, would be to promote still further the welfare of that province, by removing the obstructions which interrupt her communications with the coast, and by establishing thence a free intercourse with the British settlements in the East. Were such a measure to be accomplished, and a branch of the royal family to be placed by the consent of the chiefs of Tigré on the throne at Axum, it might again revive the political importance of the country, and ultimately lead to the most desirable results.

At present the possession of the ports of Massowa and Suakin by the deputies of the rulers of Jidda,* forms a decided obstacle to all effectual intercourse with Abyssinia, owing to the unjust exactions which are extorted from the merchants who attempt to trade in their ports; and the power of these chiefs in the Red Sea may comparatively be considered as formidable, from their possessing several armed ships of four and five hundred tons burden, with a fleet of dows, carrying each from six to eight guns, which, when manned with the desperate ruffians who constitute the population of Jidda, give them complete command over both sides of the Gulf. The most effectual plan, I conceive, of opposing this influence, which appears to me fraught with remote danger, even to our Indian possessions, would be best accomplished by forming a native power in the Red Sea, sufficiently strong to counteract its effects, and likely to prove more friendly inclined to the English interests. This could be brought about without any great difficulty by means

* Since I left the sea, the Sheriffe of Mecca has been superseded in the command of Jidda, by the Pasha of Egypt, whose influence in the Red Sea, I conceive, likely to produce the worst effects.

of the Imaum of Sana, who might readily be induced to concur in any plan which had for its object to repress the ambitious schemes of the rulers at present in possession of Jidda; since he has lately been threatened with an attack from that very quarter against one of the most valuable parts of his dominions.

I may farther observe, that if some such general plan as the one I have ventured to suggest, were carried into effect, and any one point on the Abyssinian coast taken under the protection of the British flag, there is not a doubt that a considerable demand would shortly arise for both English and Indian commodities, which, though not in the first instance of any great importance,* might still form a valuable appendage to the trade of Mocha, whence it could be easily carried on at a trifling expense. The advantages of this intercourse to the Abyssinians themselves would prove incalculably beneficial; it would open to them the means of improvement, from which they have been so long debarred, and would raise them to a consequence more than sufficient to repress the inroads of the Galla; introducing at the same time such an amelioration into their condition, as might lead perhaps, ultimately to a diffusion of civilization, if not of Christianity, over a considerable portion of Africa.

In addition to the foregoing observations, I likewise possess many particulars which I collected respecting

* The duties at Massowa at present average from 20,000 to 30,000 dollars annually; which, at the rate of ten per cent., makes the value of goods imported about 250,000 dollars; this would undoubtedly admit of considerable increase. Tin sells at Massowa for seven and a half dollars per Mocha frasil: copper for nine and a half; pepper two and a half; and cotton, which is the principal article in demand, for from two and a half to three. Broad cloth will not fetch more than three dollars per yard English measure; but the natives are not particular about quality; colour being the chief thing they regard. Cloth of two colours on the different sides would sell well, either here or in Arabia. Brass foil, or silver leaf, fetches two and a half dollars per ounce: wrought silk one and a half per wakea; red kid skins sell at one and a half dollar each; tobacco at from three to four dollars per frasil. Besides these articles, a few low-priced velvets and coarse muslins might answer, together with cheap looking-glasses. Any ship employed on this service should manage to arrive in the Red Sea before the end of May, so as to be able to leave it in August; under the present system in the Red Sea, however, this trade is not worthy of attention.

the kingdom of Hurrur and its inhabitants; as well as the various other tribes of natives to the south, especially the Somauli, noticed in the accompanying map. These I intended to have incorporated in my work, together with an abstract of the journal of Mr. Stuart during his residence at Zeyla; but I found that they would extend this volume to so unreasonable a length, that I felt myself under the necessity of withholding their insertion. Should my labours, however, receive the approbation of the public, I may probably be induced to prepare a small supplemental volume for the press, which, besides the matter above referred to, may include some further information relative to Abyssinia; as I have lately (May, 1814) received a regular journal from Mr. Pearce, of the transactions that have occurred there subsequently to my last visit; as also several letters in the Ethiopic language from the Ras Welled Selassé, Dofter Esther, and other well-informed persons, noticed in the progress of my travels; which, altogether, I conceive, might form a compilation worthy the attention of the public.

I shall now proceed to give a short account of my return to England, with which this volume will conclude.

On the 27th of June, (sea reckoning,) the Captain having completed his cargo, we took leave of our friends at the Factory, and went on board the Marian; and on the same day set sail from the Roads of Mocha, with the intention of making a windward passage against the south-west monsoon to the Cape of Good Hope, where it had been previously arranged that the ship should touch on her way back to England. Owing to the wind blowing from the south-west quarter, it took us three days to clear the Straits of Babelmandeb, soon after which we experienced a considerable change both in the wind and weather, the former veering to the north-east, and the latter proving squally and unsettled. On the 1st of July, having advanced to the eastward of Aden, we experienced such heavy gales from the south-west, in latitude 12° 5′ 0″, that the Captain thought it advisable to wear ship to the westward, the sea running very cross, and the vessel, from pitching heavily, having shipped more water than usual. On the following day, as we advanced west-

ward, the wind again moderated, and at six P. M. it became almost calm. This induced us to steer back SE. by E. under a supposition that the gale had subsided; but in a few hours we came again within the influence of the north-west wind, which increased during the night to a perfect storm, compelling us to lie-too under a close reefed main top sail; a tremendous sea at the same time running in from W. S. W. In the morning, having drifted considerably to the westward, the wind and sea once more became moderate.

I have particularly noticed these sudden changes in the weather, as they prove very distinctly, that at this point the full influence of the south-west monsoon commences which prevails over the Indian Ocean. From this time we kept over to the coast of Africa, where we found light breezes from about W. by N., with clear and pleasant weather, which continued till the 5th of July, when at four P. M.,* having brought Mount Feluk† to bear due south, distant four leagues, the Captain took a fresh departure, and steered about east north-east, with an intention of passing to the northward of the Island of Socotra. A few hours after this the wind from the north-west died away, and at nine it became calm. But before midnight a heavy gale once more commenced from the south-west, attended by a tremendously high sea as we opened the channel between Gardafui and Socotra, when we were compelled to put the ship under her fore-sail, still keeping an eastern course; and during the whole night she strained so much with the rolling of the sea, that the pump was employed every ten minutes to keep her free. By the foregoing observations, it appears that if a line be drawn from Ras Gardafui to Aden, it will give an exact notion of the general direction and limits of the south-west monsoon in this gulf. It very often extends beyond this along the Arabian shore into the Red Sea, as before observed, (vide p. 85;) but on the African side it appears to form a complete eddy, which in all probability is oc-

* The exact courses and distance of our run will be given in Appendix No. V.

† A sketch of this Cape, and another of Cape Gardafui, is given in the general chart of the East Coast of Africa.

casioned by the curving shape of the two coasts, influenced by the Promontory of Babelmandeb, and the high land on the African continent to the northward of Zeyla.

At ten the next morning, to our great surprise, though the weather was hazy, a lofty range of land was discovered on our starboard beam; the southern extreme bearing S. S. E. and the western S. by W., distant about five leagues; and at eleven A. M. we saw a white rock on our lee-bow, bearing NE. by E., distant four miles, being at noon, when the weather cleared, in latitude 12° 20′ 0″ N. At this time, from the general appearance of the land, which was extensive and mountainous, we concluded that we were passing the Island of Socotra, to which we supposed that we must have been carried by an extraordinary current, said to prevail in this part of the sea; as, owing to the erroneous manner in which the Island of Abdelcuria is laid down in modern charts, (appearing to be little more than a rock,) we did not entertain a suspicion that it could possibly prove to be that island. Under this impression, the Captain proceeded to steer about east south-east, resting confidently assured that we had before us a clear sea. The strong south-westerly gales still prevailed: and the vessel shipped several heavy seas; at midnight, the wind blowing excessively hard, split the fore-top-mast stay-sail, and the sea continued to run very cross.

At half past five in the morning, an appearance resembling that of land was seen on our lee-beam, which was supposed at first to be nothing more than a fog bank. But at seven, to our great alarm, it proved to be very high land, not above four miles distant; while at the same time a perpendicular cliff came in sight less than three miles distant on our lee-bow, which satisfied us at once, that we had got into a deep bay on the south-west side of the island of Socotra, the sea then running very high, and the ship being evidently in very shallow water.* Our situation now became imminently dangerous, and, in

* The Captain, to prevent alarm, would not permit the lead to be heaved, as it could not prove of any use: but we certainly were not in more than five fathoms for some time.

consequence, the Captain immediately adopted the only plan which offered a hope of saving the vessel, wearing the ship round towards the north-west, and putting her under a press of sail, which we had only just room to effect, as by this time we had drifted very near to the shore. Fortunately, our efforts succeeded; for being aided by a strong current which set off from the island, we made a favourable tack to windward; and at noon, being in latitude 12° 23′ 0″, had the satisfaction of clearing the western point of land, and of finding ourselves again in a situation of comparative safety; after which we ran within a white rock* lying off this end of Socotra, and endeavoured to steer close under the lee of that island.† The occurrence I have just related, points out very strongly the necessity of making the Island of Abdelcuria of greater consequence in the charts than has hitherto been the case; as it was solely owing to the inattention of hydrographers, in this respect, that we were drawn into the awful situation I have described. We had the strongest reasons, however, to be grateful to Providence that this had not occurred before day-break; as, otherwise, the ship, and every person on board, must have inevitably perished; for at the time we were nearest to the shore, we could clearly discover a tremendously heavy surf breaking over the rocks, with which the coast was lined.

On the 8th of July, notwithstanding that we kept close under the land, the wind continued to blow with excessive violence, keeping us under the foresail and mizen stay sail, which prevented our making a single mile on our course; and perfectly convinced us that, during its continuance, it would be impracticable to gain a windward passage. On the 9th of July, the weather became still more boisterous: and the vessel shipped so much water as to keep our men almost constantly employed at the pumps,

* This rock very much resembles the one lying off the north end of Abdelcuria; which latter contributed towards leading us into the error above-mentioned.

† A sketch of the north-west end of Socotra is given in the chart, for which, I entertain a hope that the Island of Abdelcuria may never again be mistaken.

when the carpenter, on examining her top-sides, reported that he found them in so bad a state, that the water at times came in perfectly clear about the waste of the main-rigging; in consequence of which the captain called a meeting of his officers, to deliberate respecting the state of the vessel, and to determine on what measures it might be advisable to pursue. At this consultation it was unanimously judged necessary for the safety of ship and cargo, as the vessel was in a disabled state, to desist from any further attempt to gain a windward passage; and to bear away for Bombay or some other harbour on the Malabar coast, where she might receive such repairs as to enable us to complete the voyage. A document to this effect was drawn up and signed by all the officers on board for the purpose of justifying this departure from the track to which the vessel had been limited; and at 2 hours p. m. the captain, in consequence, bore up for Bombay.

From this time to the 15th of July, we continued making a direct course to that harbour, the sea rolling very heavily, and the ship labouring and straining so much with the gales, that we were constantly obliged to keep the pumps at work. On the 15th we experienced heavy rain, and saw several sea snakes, which are sure signs of approaching the coast, when shortly afterwards we gained soundings in 37 fathoms. On the following day, by a happy coincidence,* we met with a ship that had been out twenty-four hours only from Bombay, the commander of which gave us the bearing of the light-house, when we bore up, and at five entered that harbour.

On my arrival I immediately proceeded to call upon the Governor, Mr. Duncan, who received me in a very friendly manner, and immediately allotted some apartments for my use in the government house. A few days afterwards, the dangerous state of the Marian having been officially ascertained, her cargo was unshipped, and she

* The harbour of Bombay, during the rainy season, in the south-west monsoon, is extremely difficult of approach, owing to the continual haziness of the atmosphere, which prevents the possibility of ascertaining the exact position of the vessel.

was taken into dock for the purpose of undergoing a thorough repair. During the delay which this event occasioned, I spent my time very agreeably, owing to the polite attentions paid to me by the inhabitants, and particularly by Sir James Mackintosh, who, with the peculiar liberality distinguishing his character, allowed me to have free access to his extensive library, containing a more valuable selection of books than was probably ever before seen within the limits of our Eastern Empire.

On the 4th of October, we again set sail from Bombay; and on the 4th of December reached the Cape of Good Hope, where I was welcomed most kindly by my former friends and acquaintance, several of whom, owing to our long delay, had entertained serious alarm for my safety. At this time, I was sorry to learn from Lord Caledon, that no satisfactory intelligence had been received, since my visit to the Settlement, respecting Mr. Cowan or the party which had gone up with him into the country; but on the contrary, that there was too much reason to suppose that they had fallen victims to the ignorance and mistaken jealousy of some of the barbarous tribes of natives in the interior; thus further adding to the melancholy list of those enterprising and unfortunate travellers who have fallen a sacrifice to their generous efforts, in attempting to diffuse the blessings of civilization among the hitherto oppressed inhabitants of Africa.

On the 12th of December, the Marian left the Cape of Good Hope, and on the 29th touched at St. Helena; and, after a remarkably fine passage, on the 10th of January, 1811, reached the coast of England, when, on the following day, I had the pleasure of landing at the Port of Penzance, in Cornwall. Thence I proceeded to London, where, after laying a statement of the transactions which had occurred during the two years I had been absent, before the Marquess Wellesley, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I had the honour of receiving his unqualified approbation of my proceedings; a circumstance which I may be excused for mentioning with some degree of pride, as His Lordship's pre-eminent talents and extensive knowledge of Eastern affairs added a peculiar value to the opinion which he had officially to

pronounce upon the subject. I shall here take my leave of the reader, with an anxious hope, that I may, in this instance, meet with the same liberal indulgence which has hitherto attended my efforts in the cause of Abyssinia; and, referring once again to that country, shall conclude with the words of the learned and disinterested Ludolf, "Excitet D. O. M. Principum nostrorum animos, ut pervetustæ huic Christianæ nationi opem ferant, Christianismo in tam remotis mundi partibus proferendo utilem, sibique omni ævo gloriosam futuram."

APPENDIX.

No. I.

VOCABULARIES *of the Dialects spoken by different tribes of the natives inhabiting the Coast of Africa, from Mosambique to the borders of Egypt, with a few others spoken in the Interior of that Continent.*

Vocabularies of the Makooa and Monjou Languages.

English.	*Makooa.*	*Monjou.*	*Native Dialect, from Dos Santos.*
God,	Wherimb.	Moloongo.	Molungo.
Sun,	E-zoo-ah.	D'yoova.	
Moon,	Má-re.	Mooei ze.	
Stars,	Tau d'wa.	To u'n du wa.	
Earth,	E-la-poo.	Mooze.	
A mountain,	Ma-go.	Matoom-be.	
A tree,	It tu-va.	Mere.	Matuvi.
A house,	E nú ba.	A um-ba.	
A road,	E pe ro.	E tal la.	
River,	Oo ré-ah.	- -	
Water,	Ma ze.	Mé-ze.	
Salt water,	Maze paréah.	Méze en jeate.	
Fish,	O'pah.	Sōm bah.	
An ox,	E-no-bé.	Ne yá te.	
A pig,	Co-lú-a.	Le gul-loo ve.	
A dog,	Ma-la po-ah.	Oom pú ah.	Im pum pes.
An antelope,	Na-zo-ro.	Jepa-lah.	
An hyæna,	Ke-zoom ba.	De tu no.	
Elephants' teeth,	Mur-fin.	Itté poo.	
Flesh of animals,	Ená ma.	Ne-ya-ma.	In ha ma.
A bird,	Noo-ne.	Noo-ne.	
A pigeon,	A koo-tah.	E' goon dah.	
A Guinea fowl,	Kan-ga.	-	
A man,	Mo loo mé.	Ma lop wa nah.	
A woman,	Mat te á na.	Mé kōn qué.	
A chief,	Pe-wah.	Musch-e-nwá-ne	
A priest,	Mo ku lu ka na.	A me za in ga	
Father,	Te-te.	At te-a-te.	
Mother,	Má-má.	A má vo.	
A boy,	Bee-sho.	Ma na-che.	
A girl,	-	Mis cha na.	
Brother,	Mo roo ko.	Alloombo.	

English.	*Makooa.*	*Monjou.*	*Native Dialect, from Dos Santos.*
Sister,	Min-yú.	Bo.	
Man's head,	Mú roo.	Mu too wé.	
Hair,	Ká rá re.	Hoom po.	
Ear,	Ne á ro.	Ma koot wé.	
Eyes,	Me-to.	Mé zo.	
Mouth,	Ya-noo.	Oun-wa.	
To eat,	Oo re a.	Koo le a.	
To drink,	Ghoo re a.	Khun-wa.	Cuni, a particular kind of drink.
To sit down,	Ka lá te.	At á me.	
To sleep,	A rú ba.	A gō né.	
To cut the throat,	Wee-vah.	An voo a ké.	
He is dead,	O kú ah.	Ou wee re.	
Come,	Ro a no.	Aiz.	
Go away,	Cou wé.	I en de.	
Let us go away,	- -	Too wen de.	
Gently,	Moo re ma.	Ap po lee.	
Mine,	Ak-ka.	An goo.	
Thine,	Ak-wow.	At-wa-lah.	
War,	E cō to.	An gōn da.	
A cannon,	Me zin ga.	Me-zin ga.	
Fire,	Moor-ro.	Mo-to.	
A bow,	Moor-ra.	O koo á ze.	
Arrows,	E ta ra.	Im pam ba.	
A spear,	Le-va-ga.	Le pán gá.	
A musquet,	- -	Ooh te.	
Bread,	Moo rá ma.	Ma sam ba.	
Salt,	Ma-ka.	Jé-te.	
Sand,	Me ta ga.	Me á gah.	
White,	E goo o.	Je pan je.	
Black,	Wa ru ba.	Kam pe ri oo.	
Red,	Yoo che ri ah.	Ya koo swé ra.	
Yellow,	Soo fei re.	Del la ma.	
Green,	Oo ré rah.	Ooo ko to.	
Good,	Ego oo re be.	Na ma ta ba.	

É and ú, are to be sounded like French letters; ch is invariably soft; a is meant to express, generally, the same sound as a in "hammer," and with the accent over it to be still broader; ō, to be sounded as oa in boat, and (') after either a consonant or vowel denotes a singular kind of catch in the sound peculiar to the natives of Africa.

The following words were given me by some sailors attached to an Arab boat, who called themselves Sowauli, which appears to be quite a distinct people from the Somauli. This tribe dwells on the Eastern Coast of Africa, extending from Mugdasho (where my informant said a great river ran into the sea called Webbé) to the

neighbourhood of Mombasa. In person they resemble the Makooa, being of the true negro race, black, stout, and ill-favoured. These men possessed no knowledge of the interior country or tribes, having early been engaged in a sea-faring life, but mentioned that to the south of them were found tribes of Galla. Their language appears scarcely to deserve the name of a distinct dialect, but is a kind of mixed jargon, nearly allied to the Monjou, spoken at the sea ports Mugdasho, Jubo, Lama, and Patta.

English.	*Sowauli.*	*English.*	*Sowauli.*
Father,	Babbe-akoo.	One,	Che mō jé.
Mother,	A-ma-vo.	Two,	Mab-be-re.
Son,	Ma-to to.	Three,	Ma-da too.
Thy brother,	Dugghe a-koo.	Four,	Mú ché che.
Wife,	Má na moo ke.	Five,	Má noo.
Husband,	Am bo ya.	Six,	Fun já te.
Young girl,	Se ja na.	Seven,	Muk en deh.
A mountain,	Ma-toom bé.	Eight,	Mun ná ne.
Fire,	Mo-to.	Nine,	Ko-me.
Water,	Mo ye.	Ten,	Mo-je.
House,	Ne yum bá ne.		

The Sowauli are sometimes called Sowaiel by their northern neighbours the Somauli; one of the latter, who said he knew but little of their language, gave me the few following words, which, though more corrupted, evidently form a part of the same language as the preceding.

English.	*Sowaiel.*	*English.*	*Sowaiel.*
Water,	Mi.	Sleep,	Kul-la-le.
Meat,	Yamo.	Butter,	Sim mel le.
Fire,	Mut to meh.	Victuals,	Mut ta ma.
Milk,	Mus see wa.		

Vocabulary *of the Somauli Language.*

The following Vocabulary was received from Summutter, a Somauli; it was confirmed at separate times by several other intelligent persons belonging to the same nation.

English.	*Somauli.*	*English.*	*Somauli.*
Father,	Ab-bai or Ilba á.	A man,	Ningha.
God,	Il-lah.	A woman,	Naak-ta.
Mother,	O-yú.	Silver,	Laag.
Brother,	Wel-lal.	Gold,	Dāb.
Sister,	Wel-la-she.	Iron,	Bir.
Son,	Weel.	A house,	Goo-re.

English.	*Somauli.*	*English.*	*Somauli.*
A mountain,	Bo-ro.	A cleft in the hills,	Fer-ra.
Smoke,	Kaik.*	Grass,	Gee-do.
The sun,	Ghur-rah.	A tree,	Dir.
The moon,	Tai ya.	A pigeon,	Shim-be-ro.
Stars,	Hed dū go.	A small bird,	Lo jir.
Seven stars,	Al-lal.	A bird which picks the camel's head	Too ke.
An eastern star,	Sa hil.	A stone,	Lug-kah.
Another,	Ko-bá-le.	Come,	Ka-lee.
A northern star,	Ja.	Go away,	Tugh.
Others (unknown,)	L' gh-oh.	Sit down,	Fré so.
To drink water,	Ab.	Water,	Be-yoo.
To drink milk,	Dun.	Meat,	Il-lib.
Sea,	B' hút.	Fire,	Dob.
A spear,	Wur-run.	Milk,	A noo.
War,	Ul.	Sleep,	Sé oh'.
To go to make war,	Ul bábe am.	Butter,	Sub-ook.
An hyæna,	Werrá be,	Victuals,	Har-ród.
A dog,	A e.	Wheat,	Sir-rein.
A cow,	Lo.	One,	K' ow.
A goat,	Ar-re.	Two,	Leb-ba.
A house,	Fé ras.	Three,	Sud-dé.
A camel,	Geil.	Four,	Af fur.
An ass,	Dem mér.	Five,	Shan.
An elephant,	Má rode.	Six,	L, éh.
Teeth,	Il-luk.	Seven,	T' dub ba.
Head,	Mud-dah.	Eight,	Se deid.
Hair,	Te mo.	Nine,	Sug-gāl.
Eyes,	Ill.	Ten,	Tubbān.
Nose,	San.	Eleven,	Kow e tub bān.
Mouth,	Off.	Twelve,	Lebbe a tub bān.
Tongue,	Ar-rub.	Thirteen,	Sud dé e tub bān
Ears,	Deg.	and so on to	
Arm,	Gaun.	Twenty,	Leh bah tun.
Leg,	Lug.	Twenty one,	Kowelehbah tun
Foot,	Og.	and so regularly	
Rhinoceros,	Wee il.	to Thirty,	Sud dun.
A cat,	Dem mud.	Forty,	Affar tun.
A bird,	Shim beir.	Fifty,	Shan e tun.
Eggs,	Gu ree.	Sixty,	Leh-tun.
To eat,	Un-to.	Seventy,	T' dub ba tun.
Salt,	Us sub bo.	Eighty,	Sedeit tun.
Pepper,	Fil fil.	Ninety,	Suggal tun.
Black,	Med-do.	A hundred,	Bo-gal.
Red,	Múr ass.	A thousand,	Kún.
Men,	Rá gh'.		
A plain,	Bú' n a.		

* A word also applied to tobacco.

I cannot help observing that the Somanli was delighted when he heard that the word "lug" corresponded so nearly with our own word "leg," both expressing the same thing. A still more copious vocabulary taken by Mr. Stuart is in the possession of the African Association, which generally agrees with mine, though he sometimes has put two words together, and frequently has added ka to the end of the last syllable, which expresses a peculiar kind of clapping with the tongue, which some of the natives use in pronouncing their language.

VOCABULARIES *of the Hurrur and Southern Galla Dialects, from Hadjee Abdelkader, Hadjee Belal, and other natives; and of the Adaiel from Mr.* STUART'S *journal written during a residence at Zeyla.*

English.	*Hurrur.*	*Galla.*	*Adaiel.*
God,	Goéta.	- -	Alla.
The sun,	Eer.	Ad dú.	A i ro.
Moon,	Werhe.	Dje á, or ba te.	Al-sa.
A star,	Too-wee.	Ur-je, or té yu.	Ur took ta.
Wind,	Doof.†	Bú be.	Ar-hoo.
Rain,	Ze nab.†	Koba, or bo-kire.	Rooboo.
Lightning,	Be-raak.†	Bekukka.	Augkara.
Thunder,	- -	Habelle-wak.*	
Clouds,	Da na.†	Dú me sa.	Urbu loo.
Earth,	Di-che.	Laf-fa.	Ba-ro.
Mountain,	Sa-re.	Gá-rá.	Al li.
Iron,	Be-ret.	Sib be la.	Beam-ta.
Lead,	- -	- -	Arrara.
Gold,	Zuk' ke.	Wer-ké.	
Silver,	Mét.	Mé tá.	Lack-ru.
A stone,	Un.	Da-ga, or hegga.	Da a.
Fire,	Is sat.	E bid deh.	Gi-rà.
Smoke,	Tún.	Du ge.	
A tree,	Luf-fo.	Mo ú ka.	
A wood,	Het-chi.	Bus sun na.	Ha ra.
A plain,	A go bar.	Dual da.	
Grass,	Saar.	Tcheta.	Ayiso.
A flower,	Hab ba re.	Do-ko.	
A bee,	Nijjat, or lijjaut.	Tit te ga.	Did al a re.
Honey,	Doos.	Dag' ma.	Mal a ba.
Wheat,	Eés.	Ko ma de.	Coom-de.
Indian corn,	Ik ké.	Mish in ga.	Moba sila.
Barley,	Goos.	Gur bú.	
Peas,	Shum bura.	Shimbra.	
Food,	Bil la.	Ny at.	
Water,	Me.	Be-shan.	Li.
Bread,	Wo-kat.	Bu dé na.	

* Literally, the sword of God.

English.	*Hurrur.*	*Galla.*	*Adaiel.*
A river,	Zer.	Leg-ga.	
Fountain,	Ain.	Búr ka.	
A well,	E la.	E la.	A le.
Fish,	Tú lum.	Búr tú me.	Kul lum.
A horse,	Fe' rás.	Fer da.	Fa ra sa.
An ass,	Wech cha rá.	Hur-ré.	Da mun na.
A mule,	Bug gul.	Gan je.	Buk i li.
A camel,	Gam' le.	Gāl la.	Ra ki ba.
A cow,	Laām.	Sou á.	La.
Milch cow,	Loon.	- -	. - -
Calf,	Té ja.	Djeb-be.	Koo a ba ra.
Two years old,	Dub bai.	Rá da.	
Bull,	Bá rá.	Sun ga, or Debe, cha, or kōrma.	
Ox for plough,	Gad-eet.	Ko te yo.	Sung-ka.
A goat,	Dow.	Rée.	Dubbila.
A kid,	- -	Ilma rée.	
A sheep,	Tai.	Holá.	Murroo.
A lamb,	- -	Ilma holá.	
A horn,	Kh' er.	Gá fa.	Ga i sa.
Skin of cow,	Go-ga.	It til le.	Caf-te.
Dog,	Bú che.	Sir re.	Kub-ba.
A hare,	Gu da mo.	Kru pe.	
A bird,	Oof, or aláte.	Shim bero, or tille.	Kin-kro.
A man,	Ab-bok.	Ná má.	Ad-ma.
All men,	- -	De ra.	
A woman,	E-dok, or doatch.	Ne te.	Bar ra.
All women,	- -	Na duo.	
A son,	Le je á.	Il ma.	Yi bara.
Daughter,	Ka-tee.	Intel lo.	Ya on ka.
Father,	Ou.	Ab bo.	Yi abba.
Sister,	- -	O-bo le te.	
Mother,	Ae, or ée.	Bo lé sá, or ad deer.	Yi no.
Brother,	- -	O bo la.	
The head,	Roos.	Má tá.	Moo i ya.
Hair,	Tche gur.	Re fen sa.	
Eye,	Ain.	Hed ja.	
Nose,	Oof.	Fun yān.	
Eye brow,	Gid eej.		
Forehead,	Kaf at.		
Lips,	Luf-luf.		
Neck,	Un gut.		Fil-la.
Mouth,	Aof.	Af fan.	
Teeth,	Sin.	Il kaé.	
Tongue,	Ar rāt.	Ar rub ba.	
Ear,	U' thun.	Gú ra.	
Beard,	Dub un.	Ar ré da.	

English.	*Hurrur.*	*Galla.*	*Adaiel.*
Throat,	- -	Mōr ma.	
Shoulders,	Kar roo.	Ir re.	Lab-ka.
Fingers,	- -	Ko-ba.	
Nails,	- -	Kin-sa.	
Elbow,	- -	Chi ke le.	
Arm,	Ij jé.	Her ka.	
Upper arm,	Ar ruk.		
Breast,	Té.	Ko ma.	A li li.
Woman's breast	- -	Har ma.	Ang goo ga.
Thigh,	Wád re.	Gú dé da.	
Back,	- -	Dúgda.	
Belly,	Ker-se.	Ger ra.	Bak koo.
Bowels,	- -	Má re mán.	Gar-ba ha ri sa.
Leg,	Ij je re.	Sar ba.	Mid je ba.
Knee,	Ge lib.		
Foot,	- -	Fáná.	
Day,	Oj.	Er ra.	
Night,	Mis sheit.	Ul kun.	
A year,	- -	Bur rá.	Ta van ka.
Evening,	Assere.	Gel gel la.	Asse ri.
Morning,	Subé, or Soza.	Gu na ma Dee ra ma.	Sar-ko.
To morrow,	Gee she.	Bo roo.	
Mid-day,	Se lat.	Wogusse.	Do-o-ri.
Ancles,	- -	Inditteat.	
Toes,	- -	Ab been yah.	
Heel,	- -	Koob.	
Sole of foot,	- -	Her dah.	
Salt,	- -	Ussoo.	
Elephant,	Aj.	-	Da-ca noo.
Antelope,	Wi del la.		
Musquet,	Nif-te.		
A bow,	De gan.		
Arrows,	In nach.		
House,	Gāal, or Gar.		
A road,	Oogah.		
Wild pig,*	Ar rea.		
Sky,	Sem me.		
War,	Mu gur ra.		
Gently,	Shét shét.		
Quick,	Fittan fittan.		
Come,	Ná.	Koot.	Am ma.
Go away,	Har.	-	Gi ra.
To drink,	Mus chah.		
Eat,	Bil lak.		
Hyæna,	We rá bah.		
Sand,	Sé lat.		
Flesh of animals,	Busser.		

* The Ittoo Galla eat the flesh of this animal.

English.	*Hurrur.*	*Galla.*	*Adaiel.*
Sit down,	Tugh a bel.		
Poor,	Zé ga.	Ye sa.	La a ma di.
Rich,	Bou.	Du ré sa.	Doo ri sa.
High,	Gu-door.	Gh' éra.	
Low,	A cheer.	Gu ba ba.	
Right,	- -	Meerga.	
Left,		Beta.	
Near,	Kúr ra.	Yeho.	Ibbin-ayeto.
Far,	Ro-hook.	Fug go.	Dir ré.
Up,	Lai.	Goo-ba.	Dir ri ma.
Down,	Tai.	Jel la.	Goo-ba.
Before,	Wun dah.	Wun-duk-ka.	Na-a ra.
Behind,	Ehir.	Bo da.	Kum-moos.
Small,	Teet.	Tinno.	Unda-ni ta.
Truth,	Húl loo.	Oo-ga.	
Lie,	Kiz.	Ki-jee-ba.	
One,	A had.	To ko.	Numerals are said to be the same as the Dancali.
Two,	Kō út, short kōte	Lum ma.	
Three,	Sheeste.	Sed de.	
Four,	Har rut.	Af foor.	
Five,	Ham meest.	Shun.	
Six,	Sedeest.	Ja.	
Seven,	Sáte.	Toor bah.	
Eight,	Sút.	Sed dét.	
Nine,	Zeytan, or Zeythan.	Sug gul.	
Ten,	Assir.	Koo dun.	
Eleven,	Asse á had.	Kooda tok.	
Twelve, &c. to	Asse a kōt &c. to	Kooda lum ma, &c.	
Twenty, &c. to	Kú e ya.		
	Kú e ya á had, &c.	Black, guracha.	Da-ta.
Thirty,	Sassa.	White, adde.	Ad thu.
Forty,	Er bah.	Red, deem to.	As sa.
Fifty,	Hem sa.	Yellow, ko re.	Wal hi ne.
Sixty,	Sis sah.		
Seventy,	Sá tes sir.		
Eighty,	Sú tes sir.		
Ninety,	They tá neh.		
One hundred,	Buk ka la.		
One thousand,	Kúm.		
1225,	Kúm kote bukkalo kúeya ham eeste.		

* Words marked thus † from Mr. Stuart.

VOCABULARY *of the Danakil Language.*

English.	*Danakil.*	*English.*	*Danakil.*
God,	Al-la.	Bird,	Kim-beir.
Devil,	Shei tan.	Sheep,	Mer-wa.
Spirit,	Mā ly ka.	A man,	Ka-bunt.
Sun,	Ay e ro.	Woman,	Ak bo eta.
Moon,	Al-sa, or berra.	Boy,	Foo ré na.
Stars,	E took ta, or arra.	Girl,	Boo ru wa.
		Father,	Ab ba.
Wind,	A-hy ta, or sako.	Mother,	Yin-na.
S. E. wind,	Ge-lal ta.	Son,	Yi ber ra.
N. W. wind,	Wé ru ro.	Daughter,	Am ma.
Rain,	Rōbe.	Sister,	In ha ber ra.
Sky,	Amboo re.	Brother,	Ina.
Earth,	Arde, or barroo.	The head,	Am-mo.
Mountain,	Al-la.	Heart,	Tu ro.
Tree,	Ai-eb.	Hair,	Do gur ta.
Iron,	Bir-ta.	Eyes,	In te.
Silver,	Luk-kroo.	Blood,	Dor-mo.
Gold,	Dāab.	Nose,	San na.
Stone,	Dáta, or é ya.	Mouth,	Af fa.
Grass,	E-shoo.	Teeth,	Bu de na.
Wheat,	Eú er, or dereo.	Tongue,	Ar rub ba.
Bread,	Ab de.	Ear,	Ai te.
Honey,	Mu lu ba.	Throat,	Un ge roor.
Milk,	An-ub.	Shoulders,	Sunko.
Butter,	Suba.	Hand,	Gub-ba.
Cheese,	*None.*	Breast,	Nehar, or alleel.
Fowls,	*None.*	The body,	Gel lub.
Meat,	Na do.	Lips,	Wog gu ba.
Provisions,	Nufs.	Day,	Al-hu, or assaak.
Fire,	Gira.	Night,	Bher-ra.
Water,	Le' h.	Cold,	Wah-ha.
River,	Wé ah.	Hot,	E beed.
Well,	E la.	Bring,	Bah'.
Fish,	Cul-lum.	Come,	U'm.
The sea,	Bad-da.	Go,	Girt.
House,	Arré, or bura.	Drink,	Nuk.
An horse,	Fa rassa.	To kill,	Dig-gif.
Ass,	Dun nun.	Eat,	Uk-koom.
Camel,	Gálla, or ra-koo-bo.	To bury,	Kub-bre.
		Glad,	Wal-lal.
Cow,	La.	Sorry,	Mum-mai.
Bull,	Ou-ra.	Dead,	Rub bé.
Ox,	Sun-ga.	Knife,	Gil lé.
Dog,	Koota.	To smell,	Dir re.
Goat,	Illá.	Talk,	Yab.

English.	*Danakil.*	*English.*	*Danakil.*
Sit,	Duf fé.	Two,	Lum meh.
Lie,	Dir rub.	Three,	Sur de o.
Truth,	Noo-mah.	Four,	Fe-re.
Far,	De re.	Five,	Ko no you.
Near,	Ib be nă.	Six,	Le hé ye.
Up,	Koor.	Seven,	Mel hé ne.
Before,	Ar sa.	Eight,	Bá há ra.
Behind,	Gum mu da.	Nine,	Se ga la.
Great,	Kibbo.	Ten,	Thub ban.
Little,	Un da oom.	Eleven,	Thubban ketea.
Poor,	Mes chinto.	Twelve,	Thubban ke lummeh, &c.
Long,	Dé re.		
Good,	Mé eh.	Twenty,	Lubba tunna, &c.
Bad,	Um meh.	Thirty,	Sud-dum.
Strong,	Sig gea.	Forty,	Moro tum.
Weak,	We ro re.	Fifty,	Kum-tum.
Old,	Id dal too.	Sixty,	La-tum ma.
Deaf,	Aitu melle.	Seventy,	Melhin a tumma.
Red,	Assa.	Eighty,	Bahar tumma.
Green,	Dat ta.	Ninety,	Sega la tumma.
Blue and black,	Dutta.	One hundred,	Bōl.
White,	Ad-du.	One thousand,	Tubban a bōl.
One,	Inni ke.		

Language spoken at Arkeeko and by the Shiho.

English.	*Arkeeko.*	*Shiho.*
Man,	Nas.	E-úte.
Woman,	Eseet.	Nú-ma.
Girl,	Wellet.	Bur-ra.
Boy,	Bus se.	Gu-fa.
Old man,	Ab be.	Ba-ra.
Tree,	It-chet.	In-kia-ra.
Stone,	Bun-net.	Dak.
Hill,	Dubr.	Kur-ma.
Earth,	Mid-ur.	Ba-ra.
Sun,	Tsaî.	Ai-ro.
Moon,	Wer he.	Al-sa.
Stars,	Kō kub.	It-took.
Wind,	Ne-fas.	A ha.
Sky,	As tur.	Ar-ran.
Lightning,	Ber-ruk.	An-kar-ra.
Plain,	Gá-doom.	Dug-ge.
Iron,	Has-seen.	Bir.
Gold,	Dab.	Dab.
Silver,	Fud ah.	Fid-dah.
Brass,	Asse-radde.	Assera-che.
Spear,	- -	Ma-ha-re.

English.	*Arkeeko.*	*Shiho.*
Shield,	- -	Ga-sha.
Cow,	Whud.	La.
Bull,	Whur.	Ou-roo.
Ox,	Be-rai.	Bee-ra.
Goat,	Tulle.	La.
Sheep,	Mud-uf.	Edo e dutta.
Camel,	Gi-mel.	Ruk-oob.
Lion,	I-ut.	Lu-bok.
Leopard,	Hum-mum.	Ar-ré-e-tun.
Hyæna,	Ké-rai.	Nan-gú-la.
Fox,	Ash-eet.	Wok-á-re.
Deer,	A-ráb.	Wi-del-le.
Cat,	Dim-mo.	Besa-a dimmo.
Dog,	Kulp.	Ker-re.
Bird,	Ou-af.	Al-loom.
Pigeon,	Hum-mam.	Gúd-dú dú-le'
Eagle,	Ib-seet.	Sou-oo.
Fish,	As-sur.	As-sur.
Fowl,	Dur ho.	Dur ho.
Rain,	Ze-nab.	Rōb.
Grass,	Sar.	As-sho.
Horse,	Fé-ras.	Fras.
Ass,	Ad-eig.	Oku-lut-te.
Road,	Gub-be'	Ar-ra.
Water,	Mi.	Le.
Milk,	Al-lil.	An.
Drink,	Sit-tee.	Bét.
Eat,	Bila.	
Honey,	Mar.	Buska.
Corn,	Uk-kel.	Il-lo.
Barley,	Sheir.	Ad-'é-lou.
Wheat,	Sin-di.	Sin-rá.
Butter,	E-sas.	Sub-a.
Town,	Ad.	Dig.
Red,	Ki-ye.	Assu-tea.
Black,	Salim.	Dut tea.
White,	Sa-da.	Ad-du-tea.
Yellow,	As-far.	Ig-ge-re-tea.
House,	Beet.	Ar-re.
Sandals,	Mud-as.	
Above,	Laal.	Ag-ga-na.
Below,	Taakt.	Gú-ba.
Right hand,	Mān.	Misga.
Left,	Gel-ub.	Gú-ra.
Before,	Kud-am.	Lig-ga-bu.
Behind,	Har.	Lid-dil-le.
Near,	Ke-rub.	He-rub.
Far,	Ré eem.	- -
Head,	Ras.	Am mo.
Eye,	En.	In-te.

English.	*Arkeeko.*	*Shiho.*
Ear,	Iz-un.	O-qua.
Nose,	Anf.	San.
Mouth,	Af.	Af.
Teeth,	I-nob.	E-kok.
Arm,	E-dé.	Gub-ba.
Leg,	Ig-ger.	E-ba.
Salt,	Cha-o.	Mil-hu.
Pepper,	Ber-be-ra.	Fur-fur-re.
A dow,	Gel but.	Gel but.
Fire,	Es-saat.	Ge ra.
To day,	Ye-met-te.	Ka-fa.
Night,	La-le.	Ber.
Day,	Um-mel.	
Morrow,	Fun-gue.	Bé-ra.
Yesterday,	Má-le.	Kas-so.
Poor,	Di-eef.	Ne-tea.
Many,	Buz-su.	Mun-goom.
Little,	Húd.	Dug-goom.
Small,	At-cheer.	U-réelt ea.
Great,	A-bee, or Ag-goo-ra.	Der-tea.
Long,	Rai-eem.	
Good,	Sen-ne.	Mé-tea.
Bad,	Ui-kú-e.	U-mo-tea.
Elder brother,	- -	Nab-ba-sal.
Beard,	- -	Dim-ne.
Cloth,	- -	Ser-re-na.
One,	Ante.	In-ek.
Two,	Killi.	Lam-ma.
Three,	Sé-lass.	Ad-da.
Four,	U-bah.	Af-ur.
Five,	A-moos.	Kōn.
Six,	Soos.	Léh.
Seven,	Sub-hu.	Mel-hén.
Eight,	The-man.	Bahr.
Nine,	Tsé.	Sug-gal.
Ten,	As-sur.	Tum-mun.
Eleven,	Assur-ante, &c.	In-kèn-kit-a-mum.
Twenty,	Assera.	Lam-mat-an.
Thirty,	Selassa.	Sez-zun.
Forty,	Er-bah.	Mer-ro-tun.
Fifty,	Com-sa.	Kun-tun.
Sixty,	Sissa.	La-he-tun.
Seventy,	Sub-ha.	Mel-hen-tum-mum.
Eighty,	The-má-ni-yah.	Bahr-tum-mum.
Ninety,	Lis-sal.	Bole-sugga-la.
A hundred,	Mete.	Bōl.
A thousand,	Alph.	Alph.

A few words of the Takué and Boja Language.*

English.	*Takué and Boja.*	*English.*	*Takué and Boja.*
Man,	Grúa.	Milk,	Shub.
Woman,	Tooke.	Fire,	Luk-ka.
Water,	Ane.	Grain,	Err.
Drink,	Ane jusse.	Cow,	Wass.
Son,	Am fa re.	Ass,	Duk ka ra.
Daughter,	An ke.	Booza,	Silka.

A few words of the Barea Language.

English.	*Barea.*	*English.*	*Barea.*
A man,	Oo koo i.	Bread,	Tuss.
A girl,	Dung-goo-di.	Drink,	Lug.
God,	Ib be ri.	Eat,	Kul.
Corn,	El ba.	Come,	Issue.
Fire,	Shet-ta.	Camel,	Cam-bero.
Water,	Um-ba.	Rain,	Ha la le.
Booza,	A pha.		

Language of the Adareb and Bishareen tribes near Egypt.

English.	*Adareb and Bishareen.*	*English.*	*Adareb and Bishareen.*
Man,	Gāl-tuk.	Goat,	To-nai.
Woman,	Tu kut.	Sheep,	O ná.
Old man,	Wotuk sheel.	Camel,	O-kām.
Boy,	Woor.	Lion,	Wō ad de.
Stone,	Owee.	Leopard,	Wo e am.
Hill,	Or ba.	Hyæna,	Kerai.
Sun,	To een.	Deer,	O ra.
Stars,	Hai-ek.	Small deer,	Gun-nai.
Moon,	Te dái.	Fox,	Ba-sho.
Earth,	To bút.	Cat,	Dim mo.
Iron,	Ton deel.	Dog,	Wo-yas.
Gold,	Du má rá.	Bird,	Ke lai.
Silver,	Esh tet.	Fish,	Wa assu.
Spear,	Tof nah.	Ship,	Wa rú.
Shield,	Og-be.	Horse,	At-tai.
Sword,	Om bá dud.	Fowl,	Ad dee ro.
Knife,	Wan ja.	Water,	O yum.
Cow,	O-sha.	Milk,	At.

* The Takué call the Mareb river Anubba.

English.	*Adareb and Bishareen.*	*English.*	*Adareb and Bishareen.*
Bread,	Bed dút.	Fire,	To ne.
Ghee,	O la.	Night,	Ou ad.
Corn,	War ru.	Day,	Om bé.
To kill a man,	Wotuk dirna.	Hot,	Hou eet.
Ass,	O meek.	Cold,	Moc-qua ra.
Salt,	Mi luk.	Many,	Gud dow a.
Black,	Wohad dul.	Few,	She luk.
White,	Wo da na.	Great,	Win.
Red,	Wo druf.	Little,	Du ba lowa.
Honey,	Tou.	Good,	A dai u wa.
House,	O gou.	Bad,	A ma go a.
Above,	In ke.	Milk,	Shat.
Below,	Ná sa.	One,	En-gat.
Far,	Sug geeb.	Two,	Má loob.
Near,	Dow ul.	Three,	Mih.
Head,	Ig gre má.	Four,	Ud-dig.
Eyes,	Te-le-le.	Five,	Ib.
Nose,	Og-nuf.	Six,	Sug-goor.
Teeth,	O yuf.	Seven,	Ser a máb.
Lips,	Am bá ro.	Eight,	Sum hai.
Tongue,	Me dá bo.	Nine,	Shed ig.
Arm,	Wi yo.	Ten,	Tum mún.
Fingers,	Te bal le.	Eleven,	Tum nug gir.
Ears,	On gue loh.	Twelve,	Tum n' mal-loob, &c.
Leg,	Rug á dok.		
Hair,	Ta mo.	Twenty,	Tug goog.

VOCABULARY *of the Language of Darfoor.*

English.	*Darfoor.*	*English.*	*Darfoor.*
Sun,	Dúle.	River torrent,	Mud-deel.
Moon,	Do-al.	Little river,	Lō-lōng.
Stars,	Wir-re.	Iron,	Dou-ra.
Sky,	Jou-il.	Silver,	Fud-deh.
Wind,	Do-lah.	Gold,*	Dab.
Earth,	Su-ru.	Horse,	Múr-tah-ádé.
Mountain,	Fú-gú.	Cow,	O-o.
Plain,	Jú-da.	Bull,	Núng.
Tree,	Ku-ru.	Bullock,	Tú re.
Many trees,	Kú-rún-wá.	Goat,	De-u.
Small trees,	Kú-rú-iting.	Sheep,	Doláh'-fun.
Stone,	De-do.	Lamb,	Oorin-que.
Many stones,	Ke dōn' a.	Dog,	Assa.
Water,	Kē-ro.	Cat,	Bees.
Well,	Kú-dee.	Hyæna,	To ro.

* A great quantity of this article is brought from hills called Sábun near Kordofan.

English.	*Darfoor.*	*English.*	*Darfoor.*
Lion,	Moo-roo.	Barley,	Sai-eed.
Leopard,	Ja-ra.	Joàry,	Nur-reek.
Deer,	Pe-rá.	Rice,	Eús.
Elephant,	Ong-eer.	Dates,	Sún du.
Elephant's teeth,	Ong-eer e dugge.	One,	Deek.
Father,	Abboo.	Two,	Ou.
Mother,	Um-me.	Three,	Ees.
Son,	Qué.	Four,	Ongal.
Daughter,	Neu.	Five,	Os.
Men,	Guva.	Six,	Sitta sun-deek.
A man,	Dwo-tōk.	Seven,	Subha.
A mare,	Múr-tá ferné.	Eight,	Themaniar.
A woman,	Yan-que.	Nine,	Tissee.
Women,	E yan-ga.	Ten,	Ashurer, or Weja
A chief,	Sug-gul.	Twenty,	Wing-on.
The head,	Tub-bo.	Thirty,	Wing-ees.
Hair,	Nú-lú eng-ir.	Forty,	Wing-ongeval, &c.
Eyes,	Nú-me.		
Nose,	Dār-me.	A hundred,	Mea.
Mouth,	U-do.	A thousand,	Alph.
Teeth,	Dug-ge.	Meat,	Ne-no.
Ears,	De-lo.	Bread,	Too gu ro.
Beard,	Pú-reo.	Honey,	Ná-sú.
Hand, right,	Dōn-ga suru.	Milk,	Boo ra.
The left Hand,	Dong-ogu-ro.	Skin,	Der ma.
Neck,	Que.	One horn,	Dúl-ba.
Shoulder,	Katuf.	Two horns,	Kúl-ba.
Breast,	Ke-ra.	A fowl,	Dō-ka.
Belly,	De-u.	Many birds,	Keanga.
Heart,	Kilma.	One bird,	De-a.
Liver,	Nún-ya.	An eagle,	Dúl.
Right,	Weja.	Many eagles,	Kulong.
Leg,	Tar-su-ru.	Ostrich,	Sú-mo.
Left leg,	Tar-ogu rō.	Tobacco,	Tá-bái.
Finger,	To ring a.	Little,	I-ting.
Toes,	Tar toringe.	Great,	Ap-fwar.
Nails,	Karung.	Long,	Kú-ra.
Back,	Sōr.	Short,	E bu te.
Forehead,	E re.	Heavy,	De-ro.
Thigh,	De-wil.	Light,	E-ku-le.
Red,	Fō-kah.	Above,	E-re.
Black,	De ko.	Below,	Dú.
Yellow,	Fō a.	Far,	Kor-ra.
Green or blue,	Ke-ru.	Near,	Duk-ke.
Paper,	Fut-ta.	Before,	Jō.
Pen,	Gul-lum.	Fish,	Fun.
Grass,	Dih.	Hippopotamos,	Fars el bahr.
Corn, Wheat,	Gim me.	Crocodile,	Nam mú.
		Ice,	Wō-ranj.

English.	*Darfoor.*	*English.*	*Darfoor.*
Snow,	Oo me.*	Lightning,	Ulmel-la.
Clouds,	Kō-tú.	Rain,	Eque.
Thunder,	Dél.		

VOCABULARIES *of the Agow, Tigre, and Amharic.*

English.	*Amharic.*	*Tigre.*	*Agow.*
God,	Igzēr.	Es gér.	Ye dé ra.
Sun,	Tsai.	Tsai.	Quo-rah.
Moon,	Tckerka.	Wer he.	Er wah.
Star,	Quō-kub.		Se-gul wa.
Wind,	Nefás.		
Rain,	Zinám.		
Lightning,	Meb-ruk.	Nú gui da.	
Clouds,	Dè-ma-na.		
Earth,	Mider.	Mid-re.	Ziv-va.
Hill,	Amba.	Amba.	Ab-béh.
Mountain,	Tarara.		
Iron,	Be-rut.	At-chin.	
Gold,	Werk.		
Silver,	Bír.	Be-roor.	
Stone,	Dengea.	Hem-ne.	Ker na.
A tree,	Zāf.	Hōm.	Kana.
Fire,	A'sat.	How-e.	
A wood,	Dúr.	Kussale (a bush)	Lukan.
A plain,	Mé da.		Buttah.
A valley,	Gud-del.	Sud-fe.	
A tent,	Dún-quan.		
Small house,	Beit.		Gnin.
A large one,	A de rash.		
Grass,	Sár.	Sáre.	
Straw.	Gul-le va.	As-sur.	
Fruit,	Fre.	Fre.	
Flower,	Ab be va.	Amboba.	
A bee,	Niv.	Né be.	
Milk,		Savva.	Saf'.
Honey,	Már.		Sá ra.
Wheat,	Sin-de.	Sin-di.	Zeer-wa.
Indian corn,	E bahr mashella.	Mashella bahre.	Mela.
Barley,	Gufs.	Se-gum.	Sik kúm.
Bread,	En jé-ra.	Go-go.	Me.
Water,	Wá-há.	Mi.	Oú.
A small stream,	Wanz.	Ri vai, or ger rub	
River,	Bahr.	Kol-li.	Arwa.
Fountain,	Mintch.	Ain.	
Well,	A zukt.	Azuk te.	

* My informant said they had seen "much snow" on the mountains of Sam

English.	*Amharic.*	*Tigre.*	*Agow.*
Fish,	As-sa.		
A large kind of fish.	Ambaz á.		
A horse,	Feras.	F' ras.	Fer za.
Ass,	Hiyah.	Er-ge.	Do-qua ra.
Mule,	Buk a lo.	Bug-a-le.	Be ke la.
Camel,	Gemél.	- -	
A cow,	Laam, or freda.	Laa-me.	Loo.
A bull,	Ou-ra.	Shid-en.	Tchin.
An ox,	Bé rai.	- -	Berá.
Sheep,	Bug.	Bug-ge.	Bega.
Lamb,	Tebōt.	Meza.	Mais.
Goat,	Fe-el.	Té le.	Fit che ra.
Kid,	Gul-gul.		
Horn,	Kund.	Ker-ne.	
Skin,	Corvette.		
Lion,	Anbasa.		
Dog,	Wi-sha.	Kul be.	Guz zen.
Locust,	An bá ta.		
Bird,	Wōf.	Wōf-eef.	Zela.
Man,	Wōnd.	Sa-boi.	Gul-wa.
A woman,	Sét.	Sa-boi-te.	Yu-na.
A child just born,	Tchek-la.	Wud-de, boy,	Yekoor, a son,
A boy or girl,	Lidge.	Quā le, girl,	Yuggera, daughter.
Brothers,	Wan-dim-e.	Hau-e.	Iz-zen.
Sister,	It-tea.	Af-te.	Is-sen.
Father,	Abáte.	Ab bo-e.	Eer.
Mother,	Enáte.	Enō e.	Ig ge na.
A friend,	Wa dad je.	Fé tou ye.	Yeeg, Uncle.
Head,	Ras.	- -	Our.
Hair,	Tse gúr.	Tsu gu re.	Sif ha.
Eye,	Ain.	Aire.	Yel.
Nose,	Af-int cha.	- -	Yessoom.
Mouth,	Af.	- -	Mij je.
Teeth,	Ters.	Sin ne.	Ye re ku ta.
Tongue,	Mel as.	Mel-has.	
Voice,	Dimts.	Dimt se.	
Ear,	Djō-ro.	Iz-ne.	Ke rus-tan.
Beard,	Tim.	Tcha me.	
Chin,	Shan-go but.	Mun-kus.	
Shoulders,	Te kush a.	Ké sa.	
Deltoid,	Mag afia.		
Back,	Chunka.	In-ge ra.	
Neck,	Ungat.	Kus sád.	
Arm and hand,	Edje-kind.	Eed.	
Fingers,	Sāt.	Assa vette.	Nun.
Breast,	Du rat.		
Woman's breast	Tút.	Toob.	Yelib.
Belly,	Hōd.	Kub de.	

English.	*Amharic.*	*Tigre.*	*Agow.*
Bowels,	Manta.	Amét.	
Heart,	Lib.	Lib be.	
Blood,	Dum.		
Skin,	Corvet.		
Leg,	Ig ger.	Ig gere.	
Foot,	Tchamá ig ger.		Lúk.
Thigh,	Tchin.	Shel-lef.	
Toes,	Igger-tsat.	Assa vetti iggere	
Year,	A mit.		
Month,	War.	War ré.	
Week,	Samint.	Sum mun.	
Day,	Kān.	Mal te.	
To day,	Za re.	Lomi.	Nich nan.
Mid-day,	Akul-lan.	Ferka malte.	
Half-night,	Memfak le lit.	Ferka le' te.	
Morning,	Tawat malada.	Nug-ga-o.	Night, khar.
Cock crow,	Doro sitcho.	Dōra nukko.	
Near,	Kerib.	Ke-rúb.	
Far,	Rook.	Rō ōk.	Ta kut.
Above,	Lai.	Láli.	Yek-il.
Below,	Taich.	Tak-ti.	Yō-ga.
Before,	Fit.	Kad-dom.	Sō-gua.
Behind,	Hu wa la.	Da har.	Bō-wul.
After,	- -	Dá re.	Ye gulga.
Great,	Tal-lak.	A ve e.	
Small.	Ta nash.	Nish-te.	
Short,	A-chir.	Atteer.	
Long,	Rej-jum.	Nō-we.	
Rich,	Balet ugga.	Balet sugga.	
Poor,	Duha.		
Dark,	Tchelema.	Selle-mat.	
A hole,	Gúnd god.		
Deep,	Talak.	Ave-e.	
Heavy,	Kub-dal.	Kub-bid.	Tuk-kul, (Arabic.)
Light.	Kalil.		
Bitter,	Memarar.	Murrur.	
Sweet,	Taf feet.	To-um.	
Much,	E jig.	Buze-u.	Be chūk.
Little,	Te kit.	Nishte.	We-túk.
Good, beautiful,	Mal kom.	Sub-ook.	Kom ta.
Ugly, bad,	Kúf-fo.	Am-mak.	Tche-ka.
Strong,	Ber-tu.		
Weak,	Dek-a ma.	Duk-oom.	
Deaf,	Dun kōro.	Sum-maum.	
Blind,	Ou-er.		
Dry,	Der ruk.	Nuk koos.	
Wet,	Ertub.	Roo-oos.	
Hot,	Mōk.		
Cold,	Bird.	Qkuer ree.	
Red,	Ki.	Ki yeh.	

English.	*Amharic.*	*Tigre.*	*Agow.*
Yellow,	Bitcha.		
Blue and black,	Tuk-koor.	Sa lim.	
Light blue,	Sum ai.		
White,	Netch.	Sá da.	
Green,	Arun gōde.		
Brown,	Bul la.		
Purple,	Káf-ai.		
Grey,	Ter ring.		
Chesnut,	Am mur.		
One,	And.	Ad de.	Lo.
Two,	Quillet.	Kil le te.	Leen-yâ.
Three,	Sōst.	Seleste.	Sho-ka.
Four,	Ar rut.	Er bah te.	See-za.
Five,	Au mist.	Au mish te.	Ac-qua.
Six,	Se-dist.	Se dish te.	Wal-ta.
Seven,	Sub-hat.	Shu ba te.	Lam-ta.
Eight,	Se mint.	Shu mun te.	Sō-ta.
Nine,	Zet-ti.	Tish á te.	Si-cha.
Ten,	As-sir.	Assur te.	Suk ka.
	Assir-and, &c.	Assurte áde, &c.	Sukka lo, &c.
Twenty,	Háh.	Assera.	Ler-rin.
Thirty,	Selassa.	Ditto.	Sō re yin.
Forty,	Erbah.	- -	Ar-vah.
Fifty,	Com sa.	- -	Ac-quur-yin.
Sixty,	Sit-sa.	- -	Wal tur jin.
Seventy,	Subhah.	- -	Lam-tur-jin.
Eighty,	Semániyah.	- -	Sō tur jin.
Ninety,	Zette nah.	Tisseh.	Se chur jin.
One hundred,	Me to.	Me-te.	La'.
	Killet meto, &c.		
One thousand,	She.	Shé.	
Ten thousand,	Alf.	Elfe.	
One million,	I,lef.		
A pass,	- -	Aleph.	Deuk.
Booza,	- -	Souah.	She la.
Spear,	- -	Qui nat.	Ik e na.
A shield,	- -	Wal ta.	Gush-a.
A sword,	- -		Shif.
A knife,	- -	Shut tel.	She-tee.
A cloth,	- -	Al la va.	Se-ren.
A town,	- -	Kutuma.	Kut ma.
Quick,	- -	Tulo.	Kozze.
Come,	- -	Nah.	Lo.
Go,	- -	Kid.	Fāt.
I know,	- -	Ana efellet.	An-ar kur.
Victuals,	- -	Sine.	Le-quā.

VOCABULARY *of the Language of the Dar-mitchequa, or a Tribe of Shangalla in the interior.*

English.	*Shangalla.*	*English.*	*Shangalla.*
The sun,	Wō-ka.	Camel,	Tō-ra.
Moon,	Be ja.	Dog,	Ko-a.
Star,	Bé ja.	Agazen,	Kó qua.
Wind,	Zú bá.	Rhinoceros,	Arwé harish.
Rain,	Dim' ma.	Buffalo,	Gim mus ga.
Lightning,	Mud-de-ma.	Locust,*	We-da.
Earth,	En né ah.	Bird,	Meta-gúzza.
Sky,	Gō-za.	Man,	Gún-za.
A mountain,	Je-sa, a rock.	Woman,	In-guf-fa.
Iron,	Sō khar.	Son,	Du-gunza.
Gold,	At yea.	Girl,	Dingif fa.
A knife,	Chag-gur.	A young woman,	Du gun na.
Spear,	Miō-khur.	Father,	Wab bé.
A stone,	Do je sa.	Mother,	E-yo-a.
Tree,	Geá'.	Brother,	Hai-h'.
Grass,	Ge zea.	Sister,	O-whé'.
Honey,	Kut cha.	Grandmother,	Ep-pé-eh.
Wheat,	None.	Grandfather,	Am pé eh.
Barley, very little.	Segum.	An old man,	Gaz-za.
		Head,	Illu kō ma.
Meshella,	Kon chá.	Hair,	Bē quāh.
Daghsha,	Tan kah.	Eyes,	Illiká mah.
Neuk,	Be-liz-za.	Nose,	Kō tu ma.
Bread,	En-ga.	Ears,	Tsé ma.
Large cakes,	Pān-sa.	Mouth,	Sum-ma.
Water,	I-ah'.	Lips, and beard,	Bés-ma.
A well,	Qu-iah.	Teeth,	Kuus-ma.
A river,	E-pú-cha.	Tongue,	Ko tet tú ma.
Fish,	Go-sha.	Chin,	En gil les sa.
A horse,	Feriz ze.	Arms,	Yá ma.
Ass,	De guoggá.	Leg,	Chug-gu-ma.
Cow,	Kuōs-sa.	Breast,	Ko-ze-ma.
Bull,	Wuddo guōssa, or wuddoma.	Kidney,	Chichchu má.
		Bowels,	E-lu-ma.
No bullocks,		Fingers,	Qué-a.
Calf,	Din á wa.	Blood,	Móh há.
Sheep,	Mé kha, or ga-já.	A day,	Mai-ka.†
Lamb,	Dú ma, or dú ja ja	Night,	Mu guk kua.
A goat,	Méah'.	Morning,	Gid-de-da.
Kid,	Dú méah'.	Evening,	Mu gus ja.
Horn,	Ko-ma.	Houses of wood,	Meet-se.
Skin,	Bé ma.	Hut,	Gogua.
Lion,	Gúm-ba.	Small,	Dit se chen-a.

* The Shangalla make a practice of eating the locust.
† Few of them know any thing of years, months, or division of time.

English.	*Shangalla.*	*English.*	*Shangalla.*
Great,	O-bo-ma.	Black,	Muk ki ma.
To see,	Wee den.	White,	Am-pō-ma.
Nothing to hear,	Dur guf su ken.	Red,	Whé ma.
To smell,	Dek e nen.	Yellow,	Mé tá má.
To taste,	Chik ke rá ten.	To eat,	Sen.
To talk,	En je shen.	To drink,	Fuk kun.
Go,	Am bat se.	To sleep,	Jij je nah.
Come,	Wé a.	To die,	Dasha.
To sing and dance,	Gé ah.	One,	Mé tá ma.
		Two,	Am ban da.
On before,	Lim mu turku ma	Three,	Quo ka ga.
Behind,	Bún gú ma.	Four,	Zá-a chá.
Above,	Elu-guz za.	Five,	Man-koos.
Below,	Nén né a.	Six,	Wā ta.
Long,	Mut tuz ma.	Seven,	Lin yé ta.
Short,	Dú qua.	Eight,	Sug guáta.
Handsome,	Mug guk ma.	Nine,	Sa sa.
Bad, ugly,	Mun-es ma.	Ten,	Chik ka.
Hot,	Go kú ma.	Eleven,	Chikké métáma, &c.
Cold,	Gid de da.		

This tribe practises circumcision.

Dialect of the Tacazze Shangalla.

English.	*Tacazze Shangalla.*	*English.*	*Tacazze Shangalla.*
God,	Rabbi.	Eyes,	Wá.
Sun,	Wah'.	Ears,	Oo koo na.
Moon,	Térah.	Mouth,	Má.
Star,	Shún da.	Nose,	Bú bú na.
Wind,	Sou-e ta.	Arm,	Kú na.
Sky,	Que-yah.	Leg,	Min da.
Rain,	E má ra.	A horse,	Be rá sa.
Earth,	Hug-ga.	Ass,	Shan-da.
Mountain,	I-á.	Mule,	Bug ge la.
Plain,	Wō dá.	Goat,	Lus sha.
Tree,	Il-la.	Sheep,	Gum-ma.
Bush,	Duf fá.	Cow,	Ai-ra.
Father,	I-yah.	Bull,	Boo-ta or ij jera.
Mother,	An-ga.	Ox,	Nàra.
Brother,	Toma.	A deer,	Le da.
Sister,	Anya.	Fish,	Esa.
Uncle,	Am-ba la.	Fowl,	Dōr há.
Fire,	Túma.	Bird,	Ye la.
Stone,	U-ga.	Red,	Be-ba.
Hair,	An-na.	Yellow,	Le-da.
Head,	Anna sunga.	Black,	Um-ma.

English.	*Tacazze Shangalla.*	*English.*	*Tacazze Shangalla.*
White,	Ar-rá.	River Tacazze,	Ta-ko-be-a.*
Green,	Jig ga.	Go,	Gá deh.
Grass,	Sé-na.	Come,	Ou-eh.
Friend,	Wō-da nah.	Good,	Quo-shah.
Man,	Quá.	Bad,	Biy ah.
Woman,	Dukka.	Cat,	Ajja.
Son,	Addeh.	Elephant,	Ab be na.
Daughter,	Ke-thah.	Lion,	Mōk.
Great,	An-da.	Buffalo,	Gebbuka.
Little,	Dé da.	Leopard,	Un ka.
Short,	It té ta.	Hare,	Lum mug ga.
Long,	Gillah.	Monkey,	Go-bel la.
Near,	Dō lah.	Water,	Be ya.
Far,	Gel-la.	Booza,	Ifa.
Above,	I-a.	Shield,	Am ma.
Below,	Dig ge da.	Spear,	Ma sa.
Sleep,	Nig ge da.	War,	Ba da.
Get up,	Fi da.	A sword,	Yig-ga du.
Mishella,	Ke-na.	Cloth,	Sé sa.
Guffs,	None.	A horn,	Ge la.
Dagussa,	Dagussa.	Skin,	Ag gulla.
Teff,	None.	Knife,	En je ra.
To eat,	Min-che.	One,	Illa.
Not to eat,	E min-che.	Two,	Bel-le.
Iron,	Be-da.	Three,	Set-te.
Saddle,	Quo-ra.	Four,	Sal-le.
Gold and silver,	Not known.	Five,	Bus su-me.
Drink,	In-nō.	Six,	Er-de.
Provisions,	Ná deh.	Seven,	Bar dé.
Hot,	Tú kú ma.	Eight,	Quon-que-da.
Cold,	Mú la.	Nine,	Quun tel-le.
House,	E-ta.	Ten,	Quul la kud de.
A well,	Wab-beah.	Eleven,	Quul la kud illa.
River,	Suba.		

A few words of the Mutshuana Language, copied from a manuscript by Mr. Cowan.

English.	*Mutshuana.*	*English.*	*Mutshuana.*
Sun,	Let chāchi.	Tree,	Molela.
Moon,	Werri.†	Wind,	Peu.
Earth,	Lehachi.	Rain,	Pōōla.

* Dal-la is the name of this tribe. Ku ná me lugga, their country near Walkayt over the Tacazze.

† It is singular to observe that this word is the same throughout the Hurrur, Arkeeko, and Dar Fûr dialects.

English.	*Mutshuana.*	*English.*	*Mutshuana.*
Much,	Toon na.	Mother,	Imma, or mahoo.
Little,	Min yan.	Child,	Wun yā na.
Night,	Bou sekoo.	Death,	Shuli.
Day,	Mut chihar.	God,	Mirrimoo.
Morning,	Kom mo shu.	Devil,	Birrimoo.
Sea,	Meetzeeabou-seeko.	Good,	Manarti.
		Directly,	Yana.
Father,	Rachoo.	Evening,	Mú chiboo.

Briqua numerals from the same.

English.	*Briqua.*	*English.*	*Briqua.*
One,	Oonchēla.	Six,	Qa ta roo.
Two,	Peylee, or ma-beri.	Seven,	Lee shu hee.
Three,	Taroo, or mi-raroo.	Eight,	Luanileu éri mabēri.
Four,	In nee.	Nine,	Luanileu é noonakela.
Five,	Churoi.	Ten,	Lu mee.

No. II.

Directions for entering MOSAMBIQUE HARBOUR, *extracted from Captain* THOMAS WEATHERHEAD'S *Journal. Referred to in p. 27, as "being in the body of the Chart;" in which, for want of room, it could not be inserted.*

HAVING reached the offing, steer for the N. W. point of St. George's Island, giving it a birth of a quarter of a mile, to avoid a dangerous reef which projects from the point, over which in clear weather you will observe the sea breaking as you approach it. Having passed this island steer for the flag-staff of the Great Fort, keeping Pao Mountain (when it is to be seen) a sail's breadth open of the Northern Bastion, if a northerly wind prevail; and on with it, if a southerly. This mark will carry you up in a line with Casa de Balwertez, a low church at the foot of the eastern angle of the Great Fort, off which runs a reef to the N. E. about three hundred yards, steep to, and dry at low water during spring tides. The pilots have no mark for this spot, but go entirely by their distance from the fort and Cabaceiro shoal, which is to be distinguished by the green colour of the water.* After passing the Great Fort, from which you will be hailed, keep about three cables length from the shore, till you are abreast of the Government-house, when you may come to an anchor in five fathoms. Moor ship as soon as you can, with your best bower to N. E. and the second to S. W. The tide flows full and change at five o'clock, rising from fifteen to seventeen feet, perpendicular flow:—strength of the spring tides, three miles and a half per hour:—neap tides not more than twelve feet flow, and strength one mile and a half per hour. This harbour is very commodious for careening a ship, having a flat level sand, and being admirably protected from the sea.

* These directions are given in case of not being able to get a pilot, which happens very rarely; though the entrance into this harbour should not be attempted, if possible, without one, the shoals being steep to, and the reefs consisting of coral rock and large stones.

No. III.

*A short Account of a Voyage made into Ethiopia, by Father Remedio of Bohemia, Martino of Bohemia, and Antonio of Aleppo, of the Order of "Minori Reformati" of St. Francis, and Missionaries "of the Society for propagating the Faith," in Egypt.**

In the month of June, 1751, I, Brother Remedio of Bohemia, reformed Missionary for propagating the faith, was recalled from the town of Girge, in Upper Egypt, to Grand Cairo, where, by our Prefect established there, I was appointed to a mission destined for Ethiopia, together with Father Martino of Bohemia, and Antonio of Aleppo, of the same order. As it was wholly impossible for a few persons to penetrate into that country by land, on account of the various tribes of Arabs which infest the road, our departure was delayed till the 27th of August, when we set out, provided with such things as were necessary to found there a new mission, in company with a caravan of the Turks destined for Medina and Mecca, to adore their false prophet Mahomet. For three days we travelled over the deserts of Egypt, where there is neither bread, nor water, nor other sustenance to be procured, on which account travellers carry with them provisions from Cairo, sufficient to last till their arrival at Suez. During these three days journey we suffered heat that was absolutely insupportable; the whole desert being flat, sandy, waste, and barren; where travellers are tormented with such burning thirst, that before the caravan comes to its halting place, it wears them out with languor and weariness: and as they cannot walk on foot, owing to the burning heat of the sand, they are compelled to ride on camels, whose tedious march and uneasy motion soon makes every bone in the body ache with fatigue. Being obliged to content ourselves with a scanty supply of water and biscuit, we slept but little, partly from restlessness, and partly on account of robbers, who are so numerous, as to prevent Christians from undertaking this voyage, except in the month of August, along with the Turkish caravan, (composed of more than 100,000 souls,) without the protection of which they would certainly lose their lives and property.

Having passed this dangerous desert on the first of September, we entered into the city of Suez, the first port in the Red Sea, where, through the recommendation of some Catholic merchants at Cairo, we procured a passage on the tenth, having to pay for this first embarkation 70 zequins; notwithstanding which we were confined in a place so miserably small, that we had scarcely room to lift up our heads. In this way we commenced our voyage, passed a lake named "Pharoun" on the 14th, and on the 17th paid our salutation at a distance to Mount Sinai; during which time our only

* Vide Lord Valentia's Travels, III. p. 210, and Appendix to Mr. Bruce's Travels, VII. p. 65.

food was biscuit, and our beverage stinking water full of vermin, for which, nauseous and disagreeable as it was, we were obliged to pay eight medines, or baiocchi for a small cupful.

On the 4th of October we arrived at Jidda, where if we had not been warmly recommended by our Greek Catholics to a noble Turkish merchant, we should have sustained the most grievous hardships from the Greek schismatics, who by some means or other having discovered our object in Ethiopia, excited against us a great deal of murmuring among the Turks, having determined, at all hazards, to put a stop to the long journey we had undertaken. But that which the hardened malice of false Christians endeavoured to prevent, the divine providence brought about by means of the Turks themselves; so that after a short persecution, when we humbly asked the Vizier license to proceed to the Island of Lohaia, he, to our great delight, not only gave his consent to our departure, but even accompanied it with a recommendation to the chief commanding that island, where we happily arrived on the 2d of November. Here we staid ten days, waiting for a passage to Massowa, where, finally, after many travails and hardships, we got into port on the feast of St. Andrew's day.

Being desirous of permission from the Emperor of Ethiopia to land, without which the Governor of the Island would permit no Christian to enter that kingdom, we sent our humble petition, by two expresses, to court; and after eighty days journey, they returned with a gracious letter from the Emperor, accompanied, moreover, by two of his officers, thirty servants, and sixteen mules, to carry our baggage to the royal city of Gondar.

The letter of the Emperor was as follows: "Praise be to God alone—from the presence of the Negush-Negashi, from the Emperor of the Christians and Turks, Successor of the Lord of the World, who is constituted for the affairs of this world and for the affairs of the Faith, as concerned with the business of the creature, by which God hath adjusted and put into good order men, and hath enlightened the land and the provinces. He is brave in council, perfect in prudence, and profitable; on which account he hath left a memory that is spread abroad over the whole earth, and on account of his justice, goodness, and beneficence, he is dwelling in the empire of the antiquity of time, having the generation of his father, grandfather, and great grandfather. He is the metal of liberty, beneficence, and bounty. Our Lord, the supreme Emperor and honourable King now happily reigning, is the hill of the Creature through the magnificence by which they are distinguished in particular and in general; bearing such and so great marks of his favour, that they exceed in numbers the stars themselves, and the multitude or density of the clouds. He is adorned with so many qualifications, that scarcely any one who breathes this air can equal him, in respect of which all other men would appear vile. He is of such sublime eminence, that all Kings would be eager to imitate him, but would not be able to attain it; because they would find him of all the princes of Christendom the most noble, and truly he is the greatest of all the princes of the Nazarene faith, and the most

excellent since the time that he was baptised.* He is the defender of the Evangelical law, the Propagator of justice between Christian and Turkish souls. He is established in the Christian nation in the city of Gondar, which is guarded and protected by the Emperor, Tasu Adiam Sagad,† son of the Emperor Bagatta Masick Sagad.‡ May his days be multiplied and his justice, and may the nights of his prosperity be continually renewed, through the excellence of Jesus Christ and his Mother. So be it. The Emperor salutes the three physicians, and begs for you every blessing, declaring that his wish is that you may preserve your health. Come quickly to us with our servants, and assure yourselves that nothing shall be done but what will be agreeable to you, and will rejoice your hearts with a happy welcome and reception; and receive from us honour, justice, and safety."

Besides this letter, we had another, full of the same kindness, from Signor George Braco,§ of Scio, a Greek schismatic, and treasurer of the Emperor, which is as follows:

"Honour to God alone.—To the three present friends, noble countrymen, honoured and beloved physicians, who come from Grand Cairo, we announce health and safety, protesting that ye need have no more fear. We thank God for your safe arrival, and that, having escaped the dangers of the sea, and of men, you are come to us. All that you have desired came to the ears of the Emperor, who graciously consents to your wishes, and sends his servants to take charge for your security and defence. Do not delay to come quickly. God, the Almighty God, forward you on your way! Peace be to you! I am, and shall remain your true friend."

Comforted and secured by these letters, the Governor could no longer detain us; so with gratitude to the Lord for freedom once more out of the hands of the Turks, on the 25th of February, 1752, we departed from Messava, the last port in the Red Sea. But our sufferings and disasters did not end here; for as there are no regular roads in this country, our way lay over high mountains, deep vallies, and through impenetrable woods, in passing which we encountered many dangers, and grievous hardships. More than once we were obliged to climb the tops of the mountains on our hands and feet, which were sorely rent and torn with brambles and thorny bushes. No provisions being here procurable, travellers are obliged to carry the meal for their bread. No house, nor inn, being found here, every body is obliged to lie in the open air, exposed to the depredations of robbers, and liable every moment to become the prey of wolves, lions, tigers, and beasts of a similar description, which are almost continually met with, of all which I shall cease to speak, from the horror and dread with which the very thought of them still afflicts me. I shall only say, that in the course of this most hazardous expedition, we often repeated that we would much rather

* I have a strong suspicion that this first part of the title is the fabrication of the Monks themselves.

† The name of this prince was Yasous, and the title taken on his coronation was Adam Segued.

‡ Bacuffa, it should be; and Malec Segued was the title he assumed.

§ A brother of Petros, whom Mr. Bruce mentions.

die in the country, than attempt to return by a road on which we had experienced so much danger, tribulation, and misery.

At last on the 19th March, we arrived at Gondar, where we were received with great joy, and were pleasantly lodged in the royal palace. On the following day the Emperor, who at this time did not reside in Gondar, but at Kaha, graciously sent for us to an audience; and after we had made a profound reverence, he spoke to us in the following words:

"I embrace you with all my heart.—I welcome you with gladness, and congratulate you on your happy arrival. While yet a child, I wished ardently to have *(men like)* you in my kingdom; on this account, I exceedingly rejoice at your coming, and I promise you as long as I live, my favour, protection, and assistance."

He then began to interrogate us with respect to the following points:—firstly, Where are the tables of Moses? secondly, concerning the Queen of Saba? thirdly, In what language will Christ our Lord judge the world? fourthly, In what language did he speak when conversing with men, and what was the first spoken language? He asked many other questions respecting Europeans, of their customs, and manner of living, which we answered in the best way we were able, to the content and satisfaction of the Emperor; who, gratified by our discourse, rose from his throne, which was fashioned like a bed, and spoke thus—"this house shall be your habitation:" passing in the mean time to take up his residence in another habitation contiguous to the one allotted to us.

On the following day he visited us in person, when we humbly presented a letter sent by the Superior of our mission. The Emperor asked if it were from the Pope? to which I answered in the negative; as, from our journey having been hastily arranged in Egypt, the news could not yet have reached (Rome) of our mission into Ethiopia; but however I did not doubt, so soon as his Holiness should hear of our arrival, of our fortunate continuance in the country, and still more of the many gracious favours which his majesty had conferred upon us, he would transmit letters full of paternal and sincere affection. For the following fifteen days we stayed at Kaha, and were every day consoled and delighted with the visits of the Emperor. At last, on the 8th of April, we set out with him for Gondar. During all this time we resided in a royal palace which belonged to his deceased father, in perfect peace and tranquillity, and were plentifully provided with food. If this had not been the case, we should have suffered much, not only from a great scarcity which for eight years had afflicted this country, owing to the ravages of the locusts, but from our salary, which we had received two years in advance, decreasing daily, owing to our numerous expenses by land and by sea. But the Divine Providence who never deserts those who trust in its bounty, was pleased to hold out for our succour the gracious and copious favour, not only of the Emperor, but of the Queen his mother.*

* This was the Iteghé whom Bruce afterwards met with, and the fact of this lady being attached to these Catholics explains many doubtful points in that author's narration.

In all this time, which was about six months in continuance, we instructed many of the royal family in the Catholic faith; and having every day in our house a great concourse of the principal ministers of the country, nay even of priests and of the common people, we gave up our time to instruct them all in the Christian doctrine, and that in their own *Chaldean* tongue, which, by the grace of God we had in a few months acquired; so that many were enlightened and convinced by our instruction, and being troubled in their guilty consciences, cried out publicly, "We are vile Christians, and shall without fail go to hell." Others even shewed themselves desirous to make profession of the Catholic faith; but we, yet feeling ourselves insecure of a permanent footing in the kingdom, deferred it to a more favourable opportunity. At length, after great demonstration of love from the Emperor, the ministers, the people, and some of the priests, we thought ourselves safe, and promised ourselves a copious harvest; the Emperor having already destined me for his ambassador to the Apostolic See, for the advantage of the catholic faith in his kingdom: when, lo! the enemy of the human race excited against the King and against us a great rebellion among the people; insomuch that the Archbishop Gofto, fearing to lose his emoluments, threatened to excommunicate the King and all the people, if he did not immediately expel us out of the kingdom. In a word, during the night, not only the furious populace, but also many monks more outrageous than the populace, cried out to the King, rang the bells, and demanded our expulsion with loud cries and threats of death. The Emperor, awakened and confounded by such an uproar, on the 2d of October sent for us to an audience, and communicated to us the painful intelligence that we must depart, which he did in the following words: "It is with the greatest reluctance that I have to acquaint you with the necessity of your departure out of my kingdom, on account of the rebellion of my people, who threaten to kill both myself and you, unless you instantly go away. For some time past murmurings have arisen against you, which I have sought to appease; but it is no longer in my power to allay them, and therefore hasten your departure, and avert this destruction from my head, as well as your own."

To these words of the Emperor I answered, that we could not go away without first receiving the consent of the sacred council; and thereupon I humbly prayed him to bear with us patiently till he should receive a letter from Rome. Meanwhile we determined not to leave our house, being much rather disposed to die for the Catholic faith, than to disgrace our ministry by a shameful flight. For three months, or thereabout, we continued to remain against the will of the Emperor, though more than once pressed to depart, in which time we frequently went into the presence of the Emperor and of the *Queen-mother* (Regina Madre;) speaking to them with evangelical license on the subject of the Catholic faith, and threatening them at the same time with eternal damnation if they did not yield obedience to the truths of the Gospel; repeating to them the words of the Evangelist: "Fear not for those things which destroy the body, for they cannot hurt the soul; but rather fear ye for those things which have the power to destroy the soul and body eternally."

Finally, after three months of very severe affliction, on the 3rd day of the feast of the Nativity, in the year of our Lord 1752, we were by main force driven out of the palace; in leaving which, we shook the dust off from our feet, and publicly upbraided the Emperor and his people with their infidelity, exclaiming with a loud voice, "We are driven away by false Christians; let us fly then and seek refuge among the Gentiles." Thence we retired among the Turks (Mahomedans) at a league distance from Gondar, trying once more if it might not be possible to remain in the country; but all was in vain, though during a whole month we practised every means in our power to regain the favour of the Emperor, and to appease the people; and so being unwilling to expose our lives imprudently, and without any profit to those souls, we determined to return; and to this determination we were more particularly led by receiving a letter from our superior at Cairo, from which we learned that it was the wish of our most illustrious and most reverend Monsignor the Secretary of the Propaganda, that if we could not have the free exercise of our religion in that kingdom, and saw no hope of converting the king, his family, or more especially the monks, we should not remain from vain motives; as that people (the Abyssinians) have been always esteemed inconstant and faithless.

By this letter, then, being fully informed of the intentions and wishes of the Sacred Council, as obedient sons, we announced at once, in the name of the Lord, our intention of quitting the country; when lo! the Emperor issued an order to arrest by force the Father Antonio of Aleppo, for the purpose of setting him to write a Pentateuch in Arabic. As I neither chose nor was empowered to give my consent to this, I sent the said Father to the Emperor, to say that it would be neither just nor feasible that one should stay alone without a companion. To which the Emperor suddenly with anger and rage answered, "I know that your Superior (for unworthy as I was, I acted in this capacity) wishes to take you with him; but I will never consent to it; nay, I swear that if he attempt to take you by force, I will send after him my servants, and cause him to be arrested, together with his companion and you, and bring you back to me either with your wills or against your wills." In consequence of this I left Father Antonio at Gondar, but under the condition and royal promise, that when his book should be written, he should be released, and sent in safety to Grand Cairo, where I believe him now happily arrived.

I, thereupon, and my companion, Brother Martino de Bohemia, turned ourselves afresh to the passage of the steep mountains and impracticable woods of Ethiopia, suffering in this new and most laborious journey, the severest inconveniences, dangers, and fatigue; so that being in a manner stripped naked, and robbed of every thing most necessary to us, we became objects of pity and contempt even to Mahomedans.

Having got to Messava, the Governor demanded thirty scudes (dollars) for leave to depart; but seeing and proving by examination our actual poverty and misery, he contented himself with fifteen. Hence we crossed the Red Sea and went to Mocha, where we found several French merchant ships from India, and, thanks to

their kindness and charity, we gained a passage to the port of Pondicherry.

Signor Dupless was at this time governor of the settlement, who received us with much kindness and attention; and finding that we had been driven from our mission, so poor and ill-equipped, he kindly paid two hundred Roman crowns for our passage to L'Orient in Bretagne. From that place we embarked for Marseilles, and from Marseilles to Cività Vecchia, whence we finally removed to the holy city of Rome, for the purpose of delivering in a faithful account of our voyage and mission into Ethiopia, and at the same time most humbly to kiss the feet of our most holy Pontiff Benedict XIV. happily reigning, and the sacred purple of all the eminent Cardinals of the Propaganda.

From the Convent of St. Peter in "Montorio" 26th July 1754.

Signed FRA. REMEDIO DE BOHEMIA,
Vice Prefect of Ethiopia.

No. IV.

I HAVE endeavoured in this Appendix to give a concise view of the animals indigenous to Abyssinia, and I have added the lists of a considerable number of rare birds and plants, which I discovered in the course of my travels in that country.

The animals domesticated throughout the kingdom consist of oxen, sheep (of a small black species,) goats, horses, mules, asses, and a few camels. Two different species of dogs are commonly met with, one of which, like the paria dog of India, owns no particular master, but is attached in packs to the different villages; and the other is a strong and swift animal employed in the pursuits of the chase. The latter from its earliest age is taught to run down its game, especially guinea-fowls: and it is astonishing how expert it becomes in catching them, never for an instant losing sight of the birds, after it has once started them from their haunts. Tame cats are likewise to be found in every house in Abyssinia.

The wild animals, called Ansissa Gudam, inhabiting the forest or "barraka," form a very numerous tribe, of which a concise list, with their names in Tigré and Amharic, may tend to convey a sufficiently accurate idea.

The elephant, (armaz, T. zohan, Amh.) is found in all the forests bordering on Abyssinia, and is commonly hunted by the Shangalla for the sake of its teeth.

The camelopard, (zeratta, T. jeratta ketchin, A.) is an animal rarely to be met with, owing to the shyness of its nature, and from its frequenting only the interior districts uninhabited by man. Its skin forms an article of barter in some of the provinces: and an ornament made of the hair plucked from the tail is commonly fastened to the but-ends of the whips, used by the inhabitants for the purpose of brushing away flies, which are exceedingly troublesome during the hot season. The whips themselves are formed out of the skin of the hippopotamos, and are called "Hallinga."

The only species of Rhinoceros, (arwe haris, T. aweer haris, A.) which I could hear of, was the two-horned rhinoceros, similar to that found in the neighbourhood of the Cape of Good Hope; of which a very admirable drawing is given by Mr. Barrow. This I believe was first described by Mr. Sparman. I myself never met with it alive, as it frequents only the low countries bordering on the Funge, or the wild forests of Wojjerat; but I procured several sets of the horns, fastened together by a portion of the skin; whence it appears that they have no connection whatever with the bone of the head, a fact which gives a considerable degree of credibility to the notion generally received among the natives of Africa, that this animal possesses a power of depressing or raising the horns at will. Bruce ridicules Sparman for mentioning this circumstance; but as the drawing given by the former is evidently very incorrect,* no great

* The drawing of Mr. Bruce appears to have been copied from Buffon's one-horned rhinoceros, and to have had the second horn annexed to it, as the two-horned rhinoceros wants the folds in the skin which are there given.

weight can be attached to his opinion. This animal is sought after by the hunters on account of the skin, which is much used in Arabia for shields; as also for its horns, which form a valuable article of barter throughout the East, being in great demand for making handles to swords and daggers. From the generally small size of the horns which are exported, it seems that the natives seldom kill the animal when at its full growth; Mr. Pearce has lately sent me one pair, however, the foremost of which measured two feet in length, and this was considered as the largest ever seen at Antálo.

The buffalo, (gōshee, T. gōsh, A.,) is common in the forests of Ras el Fil. Its skin is employed for the purpose of making shields, in the construction of which much art is displayed; and a handsome one, well shaped and seasoned, will sell in the country for four and five dollars.

The Zebra, or Zecora, is found chiefly in the southern provinces. The mane of this animal is in great demand for making a particular kind of collar, which is fixed on state days, as an ornament, round the necks of the war-horses belonging to the chiefs. The privilege of wearing this ornament appears to be confined to only a few of the principal men, which may perhaps, however, only proceed from its scarcity. The wild ass, possibly the Quacha, (erge gudam, T.—ebuda hiyah, A.) is found in the same districts as the Zecora.

Lions, (ambāsā, T. A.) are occasionally to be met with in the sandy districts bordering on the Tacazze: and the killing one of them confers great honour upon a chief, giving him the privilege of wearing its paw upon his shield.* Its skin is afterwards formed into a dress, very similar to that worn by the Kaffer chiefs in the neighbourhood of the Cape of Good Hope, though more richly ornamented.

Several species of the leopard tribe are found in the country. The common one is called nimeer in Tigre, nibr in Amharic—the second is the black leopard (gussela, T. and A.;) the skin of which commands a high price in the country, and is worn only by governors of provinces—the third, (muntillut T. wobo A.) appears to be an unknown species, and is said to be very fierce, occasionally carrying away children, and even men, when it accidentally finds them asleep: its face is described as resembling the human countenance. Of the lynx kind may be mentioned one nearly allied to the common lynx, (nibre arrar T.)—the lion cat, or caracal, (chon ambasa, T.,)—the tiger cat, or grey lynx, (nibre gulgul, T.;)—and the wild cat, (akul dimmo T. yedeer dimmut A.,) of which a drawing is given by Mr. Bruce; to these may be added the zibet, (turing dimmo,† T. ankeso, A.) which produces a quantity of civet that constitutes a considerable article of commerce.

Of the dog kind may be enumerated, the hyæna, (zibee, T. gib, A.;)—a small species of wolf, (wachária, T. kabbaro, A.;)—a common sort of fox, (cōnsul, T. wolga, A.;)—the sea-fox, (wuggera, T. tokela, A.;) and the jackal, (akul mitcho, T. michæl chitlo, A.) which last is an animal exceedingly destructive to poultry.

* Some similar custom to this probably first gave rise to the idea of quartering heraldic arms.

† This animal is erroneously said in Buffon to be called Kankan, in Ethiopia.

A great variety of the antelope kind is to be met with. The largest of these are the kudoo, (agayen, T.) found also in the interior of the Cape;—the harte-beest, (wée'l, T. bohur A.) the spring-bok, (sassa, T.) and another very small species, little bigger than a hare, found commonly also at the Cape and Mosambique, called in Tigré "madoqua." Besides these are the wild goat, (taille budde, T. ebada fe-el, A.) and another species of antelope, (witil, T.) probably allied to the chamois, which is found on the highest parts of the cold and mountainous districts of Samen.

Several species of monkey abound throughout the wilder districts, the largest of which, (hevve T. gingero A.,) is nearly allied to those found in Arabia. Another smaller species, with a black face, is named alesteo, in the Tigré, and tota, in the Amharic language.

The rest of the animals are as follows: the wild boar, (arowjah akul, T. eryeah, A.;) the porcupine; (cōnfus, T. zurt, A.;) a species of cavy; (gihé, T. ashkoko, A.;) nearly allied to that found at the Cape; a small grey species of hare, (muntilé T.,) considered as *unclean* by the Abyssinians; the squirrel, (shele el hehoot, T.;) the rat, (inchwa, T. ait, A.,) with which the fields are over-run, and an undescribed species of makis, or lemur, (faunkus T. gueréza A.,) of which an imperfect drawing has been given by Ludolf. This last animal is about the size of a cat, and is commonly seen among the branches of trees; it has a long tail, faintly striped black and white, with white bushy hair at the end; the hair on the body is long, and of a clear white colour throughout, except on the back, which is marked with a large oval spot of short hair, of the deepest black. The skins of these animals are brought out of Damot and Gojam, and are commonly found in the markets, selling at about half a dollar each, every man in Tigré wearing a piece of this skin as an ornament on his shield. When a number of them are sewed together, it forms a very splendid covering for a couch, which I never met with except in the house of the Ras: one of these was presented to me by the Ras himself, which is at present in the collection of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent. The hippopotamos, (gomari,) and the crocodile, (agoos,) which abound in the lakes, as well as principal rivers in the country, have been before mentioned. A great many other species of animals are doubtless to be found in the country; but the above list contains the names of all that I either saw or heard of, during my stay there.

Among the larger birds indigenous to the country, is a great variety of species of the genus falco; the most remarkable of which, are the two described and drawn under the directions of Mr. Bruce. The larger of these he has termed Golden Eagle, by way of distinction. This is classed among the vultures by Dr. Shaw, and is called the "bearded vulture," on account of the straitness of its bill; but its general appearance in a natural state, together with the vigour and animation which it displays, incline me to think it more nearly allied in the natural system to the eagles, and I should therefore be inclined to call it the African Bearded Eagle. The head of one, which I shot, most resembling that described by Mr. Bruce, differed in some slight respects from his drawing: the pupil of the eye was deep black; the irides sandy yellow; and an outer film, which it

occasionally draws over the whole ball of the eye, of a deep bright scarlet; tongue hard, bifid, and fitting exactly in the under mandible; beak dirty brown, with tufts of black hair growing on each side of the upper mandible, bending forwards, and almost covering the nostrils; tufts of the same on each side of the lower mandible, and a still larger one forming a beard underneath: the space round the eye, and in front of it, as well as an angle behind, deep black, giving a bright lustre to the eye; the head covered entirely with small dirty white feathers, which, as well as those of the neck, breast, and belly, were tinged with a rusty brown; the colour of the feathers on the back, tail, and wings, of a fine deep glossy brown, with white ribs; feathers on the back of the neck standing erect, somewhat like a ruff; tail feathers ten in number, wedge-shaped; wing feathers twenty-six; extent from the tip of one wing to the other rather more than eight feet; the bird otherwise agreeing with the measurements given by Mr. Bruce; the whole of the body covered with a yellowish down. The other eagle, killed at the same time, was nearly of the same size and make, but rather the smaller of the two; but the head and neck were blacker; the under part of the body dusky brown; the small feathers of the wings lighter, and talons somewhat longer: this latter was supposed to be the male. (The drawing by Mr. Edwards of the bearded vulture gives no idea of this bird.) The other species is rare in the country, and has been described by Dr. Shaw under the name of the Falco occipitalis, or Occipital eagle. The drawing of this by Mr. Bruce is very correct. There is another species of falcon in the country, called by the natives Goodic-Goodic,* which I conceive to be nearly allied to the Sacre. Its size is about the same as that of the common falcon; its feet and beak of a blueish tint; its general colour deep brown, approaching to black; and the whole of the breast of a clear white colour; so that it may be properly designated by the name of "The Abyssinian white-breasted Lanner." The Abyssinians entertain a singular superstition respecting this bird. When they set out on a journey and meet with one of them, they watch it very carefully, and draw good or bad omens from its motions. If it sit still, with its breast towards them until they have passed, it is a peculiarly good sign, and every thing is expected to go on well during the course of the journey. If its back be turned towards them, it is considered an unpropitious sign, but not sufficiently so, as to create alarm. But if it should fly away hastily on their approach, some of the most superstitious among them will immediately return back to their homes, and wait till a more favourable opportunity for commencing their expedition occur. From this circumstance, and the resemblance of its form to those so frequently met with among the hieroglyphics in Egypt, I am led to suspect that this species may answer to the sacred hawk of that country, which was venerated by the ancient inhabitants.

Vast numbers of vultures are found throughout the country, which in the time of war follow the tracks of the armies. The largest of this genus which I met with seemed to be of a new spe-

* The Abyssinians have so much veneration for this bird, that they will not permit one on any account to be killed.

cies; its head was of a dirty white, with a hood, or crest, of a spongy substance, covered with down on the back of it: the bill of a bright orange colour, strongly hooked, and the space under the orbit of the eye, and the whole of the neck bare and of a light flesh colour. It had a large ruff of dark feathers round the base of the neck: and the whole of the upper part of the body was of a cinereous brown colour.

The ostrich (sogun) is found in the low districts north of Abyssinia, but very rarely within the actual limits of the country. Herns, of various species, are common in the marshy grounds;* one species of which (Feras Sheitan, or the devil's horse,) was noticed by Jerome Lobo; but his description was so vague, that it was difficult to fix upon the class of birds to which it belonged. The Abyssinian horn-bill, called Abba Gumba in Tigré, and Erkoom in Amharic, frequents the cultivated lands of Tigré, and seems to be useful in destroying the grubs, worms, and wild bulbs, with which the land abounds. This bird builds its nest in the low branches of lofty trees, and is often seen sitting there in a kind of solitary independence. The Abba Gumba, as well as many of the other birds found in Abyssinia, also frequents the opposite coast of the continent; and some tolerably fine specimens of it are to be seen in Mr. Bullock's Museum, which were brought from Senegal. A large and handsome species of bustard, which I shot on the coast of Abyssinia, the skin of which I afterwards brought to England, appears likewise to be the same as that found in the neighbourhood of the river Gambia.

The Egyptian goose, and a species of duck, allied to the Anas Lybica, are occasionally met with,† and several other species of water fowl; the most common of which is the Derho-mai, literally water-fowl, a species of bittern, of which a drawing is to be found in Dapper's Description des *Isles de l'Archipel.* Guinea fowls, red-legged partridges, quails, snipes, lapwings, larks, and doves, abound throughout the whole country. The natives are so expert in the use of the matchlock, that they constantly kill the two former birds with a single ball; so that during our whole stay in the country, we were constantly supplied with them, as well as with different kinds of venison; the Ras always sending me a share of those which were brought in by his followers.

In the course of my last journey I made a collection of the rarer birds found in the country, which I was fortunate enough to bring

* Hern, killed on the 19th of August on the plain of Serawé. Crown of head black; beak of an orange colour; wings at the tip of a glossy black, twenty-four feathers in each; under the pinions bare, and bright red, as in the flamingo: tail forked, and four black feathers on each side, and eight white ones in the centre; legs black; outside of thighs black: rest of the bird white; this bird when erect was nearly four feet high.

† Another species of duck killed at Abha: upper mandible of beak light grey, edged with red; top of head brownish grey; irides yellow; body speckled, somewhat like that of a guinea-fowl, whiter on the lower parts, and yellower on the back; scapular feathers dark umber-brown; round the eye and upper part of neck rusty iron colour; legs bright red; wings twelve long black feathers, twelve glossy blue, and four hinder ones of yellowish brown; secondary feathers black; tertials seventeen white, with a black stripe across them; rump and upper part of body black: under part yellowish.

safe to England. These I submitted to the inspection of Dr. Latham on my arrival, who obligingly favoured me with his remarks upon them. I subsequently presented them to Lord Stanley, who has since taken great pains in setting them up. At my request, he has been kind enough also to draw up a description of some of the more rare, which, together with Dr. Latham's valuable remarks, I shall here present to the public, as both will be found far superior to any account which my limited knowledge on the subject would permit me to offer to the public.

Romsey, September 25th, 1811.

DEAR SIR,

I do myself the pleasure of returning your birds, several of which I find curious, and, so far as I know, not yet described. I have noticed this in the catalogue, referring, for the most part, to my *Index Ornithologicus*. You would not do amiss by getting up Nos. 5, 8, 9, 14, 15, 18, 22, 29, 34? 35? 42, 48, 50, 51, 55, 57; but the most rare are, in my opinion, 8, 18, 22, 29, 42, 48, 50, 51, 55, 57, and the last number *most rare of all.* Many in the list will be found in more than one museum; though in my own I have but few of them: my specimen of No. 11, was met with in England; No. 16, I had from Senegal; No. 20, from the Cape of Good Hope, and No. 31, from India. I have neither of your two Colys, but have the Coly-leuconatos from the Cape of Good Hope. I have taken drawings from eight or nine; the rest I had either figures of before, or can trace them sufficiently for my own use.

I have marked No. 55, as Ardea Pondiceriana; but if the figure in pl: enlum: 932, be looked at, the feet are in that plate cloven to the bottom; whereas in your specimens they are webbed deeply, as in the avoset, with which genus it ought to have place, were it not for the singular construction of the bill; on account of which, it can scarcely be ranked with the herons.

Yours, &c. &c.

JOHN LATHAM.

1. Lanius, allied to Pie griesche silentieux Levail. Ois. pl. 74, f. 1. 2. *Two specimens.** *(Shot in Abyssinia.)*
2. ——— Q. Lanius Cubl: Ind. Orn. Sup. p. xx. *One specimen. (Abyssinia.)*
3. ——— ferrugineus, Ind. Orn. i. 762, or a variety. *One specimen. (Chelicut in Abyssinia.)*
4. ——— allied to 3. *(Chelicut.)*
5. Psittacus, probably new. *This is the only species of paroquet I ever saw in Abyssinia; they were seen in large flights about the tops of Taranta in March and October. One specimen.*
6. Coracias Benghalensis. I. O. i. 168. *Thought to be a young bird. One specimen. (Mosambique.)*
7. ——— afra. var. *One specimen. (Mosambique.)*
8. Bucco, new species, *(Abyssinia.) Two specimens. Supposed to be male and female, as they were shot at the same time.*

* The remarks in italics are added by the author.

They cling like the common woodpecker to the branches of trees.

9. Oriolus Monacha. I. O. i. 357. *(Mosambique.)*
10. ——————— *(Abyssinia.)*
11. ——— Galbula. I. O. i. 186. *(Mosambique.) This and No.* 9, *were found on a mango tree.*
12. Cuculus, var. of Edolio Levail, 5. pl. 209. *(Abyssinia.)*
13. ——— senegalensis. I. O. i. 213. *(Abyssinia.) It is common in the mountainous districts, and is generally found sitting in the thick caper, and other thorny bushes, whence it is difficult to drive it. Its flesh is coarse and rank; and the contents of the stomach, when killed, very fetid.*
14. Picus, not described. *(Abyssinia.)*
15. Alcedo, not described. *(Abyssinia.) Shot at Chelicut, in the bed of a brook closely shaded with trees and shrubs.*
16. Merops erythropteros. *(Abyssinia.) These birds fly like swallows, and are very difficult to kill. Three specimens.*
17. ——— superciliosus. I. O. i. 271 ? *Two specimens. (Mosambique.) Commonly seen flying about the manioca plantations, which the bees frequent.*
18. ———, not described. *Fork-tailed. Two specimens. Abyssinian, near Adowa.*
19. Erythropterus ? large variety. *Two specimens.*
20. 21. Upupa promerops. I. O. i. 278. *Two specimens. (Mosambique.) This bird flies with seeming difficulty, owing to the length of its tail.*
22. ——— erythrorhynchos, var. with a black tail. *(Abyssinia.) Common; they keep together in flights of twenty, thirty, or more; and are often observed feeding on the figs of the Ficus Sycamorus; when disturbed they make a prodigious chattering. One specimen.*
23. Certhia, var. of C. Zeylona. *(Mosambique.)*
24. Certhia famosa. *(Mosambique.)* Ind. Orni. i. 288.
25. Certhia Senegalensis. I. O. i. 284. *(Mosambique.)*
26. Certhia, not described. *(Abyssinian.) Found in the low hot country, near the Tacazze. Two specimens.*
27. Certhia afra. *(Mosambique.)*
28. A variety of do.
29. Tanagra, (not described,) red bill'd Tanager. *(Abyssinia.) This bird is commonly met with wherever there are droves of cattle; and is constantly seen feeding on their backs, picking out a species of grub, engendered there in hot weather, which might, but for its obliging attention, prove seriously annoying.*
30. Fringilla Senegala, and a variety of the same. *(Abyssinia.)*
31. Fring. elegans. I. O. i. 441. *(Mosambique.)*
32. Fring. Benghalus. I. O. i. 461. *(Abyssinia.) Common in every bush close to the houses; manners like a wren.*
33. Fring. Canaria. *(Mosambique.)* In. Or. i. 454.
34. Musicapa Paradisi. I. O. ii. 480. brown var. *(Abyssinia.)*
35. ——— mutata. var. *Two specimens. (Abyssinia.) Supposed to be male and female, being found together on a fig tree at Ghella. (Rare in the country.)*

36. Alauda Africana. I. O. ii. 499. *The habits of this bird are like those of the English sky-lark, and its note nearly the same. (Abyssinia, frequent.)*
37. Sylvia, not described? *Two specimens. (Abyssinia.)*
38. Hirundo capensis. I. O. ii. 499. *Shot at Chelicut, in Abyssinia.*
39. Turdus Phœnicurus. I. O. i. 333. *(Abyssinia.)*
40. ——— musicus, high coloured variety. *Shot near Dixan in Abyssinia; its notes are something like the English bird.*
41. ——— capensis. *(Abyssinia.)*
42. ——— nitens. *(Three specimens. The Abyssinian name is Warry.) These birds are very common at Dixan, and in every part of the country where the Kolquall is found; they sit on the tops of these trees, and feed on their flowers, seeds, or some insect peculiar to the trees.* Ind. Orn. i. 346.
43. Colius senegalensis. I. O. i. 368. *(Mosambique.) They are seen in great numbers together feeding on the orange and paupau trees when the fruit is ripe.*
44. Colius striatus. *Shot in the garden of the Ras at Chelicut.* I. O. i. 369.
45. Loxia Malacca. I. O. i. 385. var.? if not new. *On the coast of Abyssinia.*
46. Emberiza Capensis. I. O. i. 407. var.? *This I considered and have called in my first journal the common house sparrow of Abyssinia; it builds under the eaves of the huts, and has the domestic manners of the English sparrow.*
47. Columba Guinea. I. O. ii. 602. *This is the common domestic pigeon of Abyssinia; hundreds are seen round the house of every chief, and being generally well fed, they often afforded us an excellent meal. The Abyssinians also do not object to eating them. They have a bright red eye, and never vary in the plumage.*
48. Columba Abyssinica. I. O. Sup. p. lx. *Called in the country Waalia. A plate of it is given by Bruce, in which the feet are too large, resembling more those of a hawk. This bird is eaten by the Abyssinians. It is a wild bird, generally to be found among the daro trees near a stream: this specimen was shot at Ghella.*
49. Numida *mitrata. The horn on the head of my specimen was destroyed by insects on its way to England, and Mr. Latham in consequence mistook it for the Meleagris. The horn is one inch and a half high, (Mosambique, and common in Abyssinia.) The Numida cristata is also found at Mosambique; having a beautiful crest of black feathers on the head. I had two of them alive, but was unfortunate enough to lose them.*
50. 51. Perdrix Rubricollis. I. O. ii. 602. Two specimens. *Shot and given to me by the Bishop of Mosambique, at which place they are common close even to the sea-side.*
52. Scolopax calidris. I. O. ii. 722. 25. β. *Killed at the bottom of the bay of Zeyla, on the outside of the Straights of Babelmandeb, by Mr. Stuart. It resembles the common curlew in its habits, and feeds on the shores of the sea.*

53. Tringa senegalla. I. O. ii. 728. *Killed in Abyssinia by the stream of the Seremai, in the vale of Logo. Its habits are like those of the common lapwing. A bird like this is common in Egypt, which is said to feed out of the mouth of the crocodile!*

54. Tringa, not described? *Killed on the coast of Abyssinia, behind the village of Madir, in the bay of Amphila. Its stomach on opening it was full of locusts. Two specimens.*

55. Ardea pondiceriana. I. O. ii. 702. *Two specimens, male and female, found at the bottom of the bay of Amphila; they wait the falling of the tides, and feed on the marine productions: they are, when alive very handsome and active birds. (Quere if not a new genus?)*

56. Alauda, new species. *(Two specimens.) These larks are common on the desert islands of Amphila, where few land birds could exist: they are also frequent on the coast. Their colour so nearly resembles that of the sandy ground, that they are with difficulty distinguished from it. It may with great propriety be termed the "desert lark."*

57. Cursorius Europæus. I. O. ii. 751. *This bird was shot on a sandy plain near the Tacazze river in Abyssinia; it has the same character as 56, being completely suited for the desert.*

58. Rollus capensis. I. O. ii. 236. *Killed in a small river at Gibba, in Abyssinia; manner like a water-hen.*

59. to 63. Parra Africana. I. O. ii. 764. *Five specimens, four of which were shot in a small fresh water lake belonging to Signior Montéro at Mosambique; the other was shot at Chelicut, in Abyssinia.*

64-5. Gallinula, not described. *A water bird, killed on the same lake as 59, &c. at Mosambique; two specimens.*

—— Not numbered. Vespertilio. *A small bat killed at Chelicut, where they are common. A much larger species was seen in the caves of Caleb Negus, near Axum.*

Additional Remarks on these Birds, communicated to me by the Nobleman in whose Collection they are now deposited.

No. 1. *Lanius poliocephalus, or Ash-crowned Shrike.*

Length 7½ inches. Bill above ¾ of an inch, blackish, and much covered with the feathers of the front; crown of the head hoary, livid colour, lightest about the eyes; a blackish spot on the ears. A collar of white surrounds the neck, and covers all the under parts of the body, as also the under tail coverts, which becomes a dirty white on the belly. The general colour of the back and wings is a brownish black: but a line of white extends along the latter, from the point of the shoulder across the coverts, and down the exterior web, almost to the shaft of the two tertial quills nearest to the body. The remainder are tipped with white, and the rest of the quill feathers have each a large round spot on the inner web, which stretches in an oblique line across the wing, from the tip of the tertials to nearly the root of the first quill feather. But this line is not

visible unless the wing be extended. The tail is square at the end: the two outermost feathers on each side are wholly white; the third is deeply edged, and tipped with the same: but the remaining feathers are only tipped with it, so as to give the effect of a cuneiform tail of black laid upon a square one of white. Legs lightish ochre; claws brown. The feathers of the head appear a little inclined to a crest; but from the manner in which the skin had been pressed flat for preservation, it may be doubtful whether they were so in reality. The two specimens seen were precisely similar. Dr. Latham appears to have considered this as very nearly allied to, if distinct from, the Pie Griesche silencieux of Le Vaillant, Ois. pl. 74. f. 1. and 2.; but on a strict comparison of the bird, now that it is set up, with that plate and description, I consider this as a distinct species, and have therefore ventured to give it a name. The bill is straightish, with a little curving in at the end, and a very small notch.

No. 2. *Lanius Cubla.*

This I have no hesitation in considering as the Hottniqua Shrike of Dr. Latham, and Le Cubla of Le Vaillant, pl. 72, with which it agrees in almost every point, except that the black of the head runs down to the beak only in a point on the front, all between the eyes and the nostrils on each side being of a dingy white. This colour also extends higher up the back than these authors appear to represent it; and though the feathers are extremely silky and soft in their texture, the white upon them is by no means clear or dazzling; but, like the same colour upon the edges of the wing coverts, is strongly tinged with pale brown. I concluded it to be a young male, not entirely arrived at his full plumage.

No. 3. *Lanius Ferrugineus, Var.*

This, on the whole, I consider only as a further variety of Dr. Latham's ferruginous bellied Shrike, as they perfectly agree in size, length, and in the general character of the plumage. In the present specimen, however, the head, upper part of the back, and the tail, are black, not brown-black as in the other bird. The scapulars and lower part of the back, with the rump, also appear black, but on the feathers being lifted up, each is found to have a large white spot towards the end, with a deepish fringe of greyish black; these feathers are of a very light, loose texture, and appear to have an additional tuft of a light waving nature, nearly as long as the feather springing from the same shaft on its under side. The chin and throat are white, the rest of the under parts cream colour. On the coverts of the wings is a lengthened spot of white, parallel to the edge; the quills are plain black; the legs are strong, and of a blueish lead colour; claws dark, hind claw crooked and strong. The bill, from the gape to the tip, is not quite an inch long, rather compressed. The tail is a little rounded in shape.

No. 4. *Lanius humeralis, or White shouldered Shrike.*

The bill in this bird is three quarters of an inch from the tip to the gape, and not quite half an inch to the front. The depth, from the upper to the under edge of the bill, is about one quarter of an inch. The general colour of the plumage appears nearly to agree with No. 3; but the black is every where of a fuller and deeper tint. This colour occupies the head, neck, and upper part of the back. The rump and upper tail coverts are of a greyish white. The wings are black, except the scapulars, and the bases of the primary quills, which are white, forming, when the wings are closed, very small round spots. The tail is rather more than four inches and a half in length, and wedge-shaped. The four middle feathers are wholly black: the eight others are black at the base, and tipped with white, which increases in every pair, so that the exterior feather on each side is almost entirely white. The whole under parts are white, inclining to a dirty white on the belly and vent. On the sides, just above the thighs, is a small blotch of a bright chesnut colour. The legs and claws are black. The base of the upper mandible is furnished with five or six strong black bristles. This bird appears to come very near to Dr. Latham's description of his Collared Shrike, p. 163. But it has not the most distant appearance of any such mark: and its length is not above nine inches and a half, whereas the Doctor ascribes twelve to his Collaris.

No. 5. *Psittacus Taranta. Abyssinian Paroquet.*

Size about that of the black winged paroquet; length about 6½ inches; bill blood-red; the whole of the front feathers between the eyes and upper mandible of a bright red; some of these adjoining the crown are edged with green, while some, which are very small, surround the eyes, and end in a point behind, giving the same effect as if the eye were placed in a naked skin, as in the genus Perdrix. The rest of the head, neck, and body, the ridge of the wing, lesser coverts, scapulars and tertials are green, deeper above and lighter below. The greater coverts are also green, but deeply tipped with black, which colour also occupies the secondaries, so as to form a line directly across the wing. The prime quills are dusky, narrowly edged with green: and the fourth and fifth on each side have their tips of a very light brown, as if the colour was there faded. From the point of the shoulder springs a very long black feather, which covers the whole ridge of the wing, and falls upon the first quill, in a line with the ends of the greater coverts. The upper tail coverts are of a bright yellow green, and so long as nearly to cover the tail, which is rather rounded at the end. The outer web of the exterior tail feather is light green; the interior yellow, which colour gradually increases upon all the intermediate feathers. A black bar crosses the ends of all; but their extreme tips are green, which colour however lessens upon each as it approaches nearer to the two middle feathers. These latter are green, deeply tipped for about

half an inch with black; legs and claws rather dusky. As this bird is probably a new species, the only one that was seen in Abyssinia, and most numerous about the Pass of Taranta, I have ventured to attach to it the above names. Its place in the system would probably be near to the black-winged.

No. 6. *Coracias Bengalensis? junior?*

Length about 11¼ inches. Bill 1½ inch long from the gape to the tip, and blackish: crown of the head and back of the neck, brownish sea-green; front and chin dirty rufous white, extending as an eyebrow over the eyes, where the white becomes purer. At the gape of the bill are a few strong but rather short black bristles. Immediately from the under-eyelid springs a tuft of long rufous feathers which cover the ears. The cheeks, through some part of the neck and breast, are violet, with a narrow dash of white down the shafts, except on the breast, which has no white. The upper part of the back and scapulars are sometimes of a greyish chesnut, sometimes of a greenish olive, according to the light in which they are viewed. The lower part of the back, rump, and upper tail coverts, blue, with a mixture of green, principally inclining to the latter. The lesser wing coverts are of a fine deep rich blue, the greater greenish blue, varying in the light from one colour to the other. The exterior edges of the first primary quill are deep blue, but become greenish towards the tip: the rest are similar, except that their hues are of a light changeable blue on the outer edges, which fades almost into white on the inner edges. Below the blue, the inner and tips are of a dusky greenish brown, with a dull tinge of coppery gloss. The belly, sides, thighs, under tail, and wing coverts are blue green, as are also the bases of the quills: but for the rest of their length they are dusky black, down the shafts on both sides, as well as the tips; while their inner webs, for a considerable space below the light spot, are of a fine rich blue, thus reversing the order of the colours above. The tail, legs, and claws answer exactly to that described by Dr. Latham, in his Gen. Syn. p. 410, Vol. I. except that the tail of his bird appears to have been slightly forked, instead of being equal. This is probably a young bird, and, as it comes nearest to the Bengal Roller of Latham, it is so considered.

No. 7. *Coracius afra? Var?*

This Dr. Latham appears to have considered as a variety of Coracius afra, his African Roller, which I have not seen; but from his account of it, it must vary considerably. The bill is of a brownish horn colour, rather more than an inch and half long, very much and abruptly forked at the tip, and having the edges of each mandible narrowed in. Length of the bird about 12½ inches; the lower part of the neck, behind, the back, and part of the scapulars, reddish brown, with a tinge of olive green: the chin, front, and eye-brow white, as in No. 6; a small spot of white also on the back

of the head. The feathers from the bill, and on the crown of the head, are long and pointed, and appear capable of being erected into a crest. On the fore part of the head is a slight tinge of the colour of the back: but the predominant colour of the head, neck, and all the under parts, is a fine rufous lilac, plain on the head and nape, but streaked with white down the shafts on the other parts. The rump and tail coverts above and below partake more of violet; a faint lilac just tinging the thighs and under coverts of the wings. The smaller wing coverts above are of a bright glossy lilac, which in the greater coverts is rather more mingled with brown, so as to reduce its splendour; the ridge of the wing and greater quills of deep blue, which towards the tips becomes greenish. The margins of the inner webs and the very tips are black. The two middle feathers are dingy green; the rest blue, shading into black on the inner webs; the tail itself is square at the end: the legs are strong and pale, claws brown. I am not quite decided about this bird, but it is evidently so nearly allied at least to Cora: afra, if not a variety of that bird, that I cannot venture to separate it, especially as I have not seen the latter.

No. 8. *Bucco Saltii. Abyssinian Barbet.*

As this bird appears to me evidently of a species hitherto undescribed, I have ventured to annex to it the above name, and am happy in the opportunity of thus paying a merited compliment to the public exertions of its discoverer, while I at the same time express my own sense of his kindness, for the liberal communication of his collection of Abyssinian birds. The present species appears to rank very near the doubtful barbet of Latham, from which however it is clearly distinct. It is but little above seven inches in length, the female rather less. The bill is of a blackish horn-colour, about nine eighths of an inch from the gape to the tip, and about three quarters of an inch in thickness at the base. It has two notches in the edge of the upper mandible, and a sort of indentation in the lower mandible, as if to receive the foremost notch; but there is no appearance whatever of any channel on the bill as in Bucco dubius. The general colour of the plumage of the body, above and below, as also of the tail, is black; but the whole face taking in the front, part of the crown, beyond the eyes, ears, and as far as the breast, is covered with narrow feathers of a sharp bristly nature, and of a bright red colour. The wings are dusky, the lesser coverts margined with dirty white on the outer web, and the quills with yellowish green, except towards the tips of the primaries. The under wing coverts, and the inner margins of the quills towards the base are white. The legs and claws are dark.

No. 11. *Oriolus Galbula, Var.*

Size rather above that of a blackbird; length something under nine inches; bill of a reddish brown, an inch and a quarter long. Plumage of the head and neck, the whole body, the lesser wing coverts, and the tail with the exception of the four middle feathers,

of a fine golden yellow. All the feathers of the wing are more or less deeply margined on the exterior web, as well as tipped with yellow, of which there is a patch in the middle of the wing. The two middle feathers of the tail are black, with the extreme tips yellow. The next on each side is still more deeply tipped, and also margined on both webs with yellow. The rest have the base of their shafts black. Legs dusky, perhaps lead colour; claws dark. The principal difference of this bird from that in the Gen. Syn. Vol. I. p. 449, appears to be, that in this every feather is marked with yellow, while in Dr. Latham's bird, this only occurs "here and there." The tail is also very different, though the general character of the bird, and the disposition of its plumage, sufficiently point it out as a variety only of the galbula; but that bird surely belongs to the thrush, rather than to the Oriole genus?

No. 12. *Picus Abyssinicus. Abyssinian Woodpecker.*

Length barely six inches. Size rather above that of P. minor. Bill blackish horn-colour from the tip to the gape, which reaches under the eyes, measuring one inch; but to the feathers of the front only five eighths. The forehead and face are a dingy olive brown, rather more inclined to whitish about the eyes and cheeks. The crown of the head, and hind part of the neck, as far as the back, bright red, bounded on each side of the neck by a narrow white streak. The rump and upper tail coverts are also red, and the latter appear to hang low upon the tail. The lesser wing coverts and the back are yellowish olive, becoming nearly yellow towards the rump; rest of the wing dingy olive brown obscurely barred with dusky, and spotted with dirty white along both margins. These spots on some of the outer margins are yellowish. The exterior quill is nearly half an inch shorter than the third, or longest, and for one inch from the tip its outer margin is entirely plain: but all the quills have constantly one spot more on the inner than on the outer edge of the feather. The tail is barred above with olive white and dusky, but below the white becomes of a dingy yellowish colour, and the shafts both of the tail and quills are yellow; the former deepest in colour. The two outer feathers of the tail on each side are rounded at the ends, the third nearly so, but the shaft a little prominent and sharp; the rest of the usual shape, and the middle feathers about half an inch longer than the outmost. The whole under parts are of a dirty white, sometimes a little tinged with olive, and broadly streaked down the shaft of each feather. It has dusky legs, and dark claws.

No. 15. *Alaudo Chelicuti.—Chelicut Kingfisher.*

Length six inches and a half; bill, from the tip to the gape, which is exactly under the eyes, one inch and three eighths. The upper mandible is reddish horn colour, the lower reddish at the base, with the point dusky. From the eyes to the nostrils is a narrow whitish line: above this the feathers are long, and rather of a loose texture, dusky brown edged with lighter, more particularly towards the

front and above the eyes. A collar of black, broadest at the nape, springs from behind the eye on each side, and entirely surrounds the head. The hind part of the neck is of a dirty yellowish white, the upper part of the back, the scapulars, and the principal part of the wings are dusky brown, becoming almost black on the wings, and below the neck-collar. On the lesser coverts is an interrupted oblique bar of white, and the base of the quills is of the same colour, forming a very small spot when the wings are unclosed. In the middle of the wing the feathers have their exterior webs deeply margined with a changeable greenish blue, and their inner webs and tips are dusky. Some few of the tertials have a very pale, almost whitish edge about the tip. The prime quills are white at the base, as noticed above; then nearly black, with a small part of the outer edge greenish blue, and thence to the end dusky brown, the first quill having a very narrow edge of whitish along the outer web. The lower part of the back range and upper tail coverts are dusky, with the ends of the feathers of a glossy pale blue, so that the latter is the only colour visible without displacing the plumage. The tail is of a fine blue, changing into green, according to the light; the inner margin dusky; the shafts pale at the base, and afterwards of a chesnut colour. The general colour of the under parts is whitish, pure on the chin and throat, as well as the under wing coverts and base of all the quills, except the two first secondaries, which, as well as a round spot below the bastard wing, are dusky black. Below the white part the quills are extremely dark, with dusky ends. The feathers on the breast and sides have a very narrow dash of dusky down the shafts. The belly, under-tail coverts, and vent, yellowish white, with a tinge on the last of the same blue which covers the rump. The tail is dusky underneath; the claws brown.

No. 18. *Merops furcatus.—Fork-tailed Bee-eater.*

Length above nine inches; bill black, an inch and a half in length, from the tip to the gape, or rather above one inch to the nostrils; general colour of the plumage bright yellow green, in some lights almost of a golden colour, in others having a chesnut tinge; from the nostrils to the hind part of the head a stripe of black extends, in which the eyes are placed. The chin and throat are vivid yellow, edged all round by a line of blueish green, and bounded below the throat with a straight bar of bright ultramarine blue. The breast is of the same colour with the back, and the rest of the under parts as well as the tail coverts are of a blueish green. The tail is forked; the outer feather being one inch longer than those in the middle, and measuring full three inches long. The tail above is blue or greenish, according to the light; the shafts of the feathers being of a dark chesnut colour, the middle feathers plain coloured, and the outer partaking of the same tinge, with the tips and margin of the interior web dusky. An indistinct sort of dusky bar crosses the ends of the other feathers; but on the fifth pair is hardly visible, except on the inner web; while all except the middle and outer pair of feathers are tipped with white, which becomes deeper on

the inner web. The space beneath the tail is dusky; the bar and tips of the outer feathers being darker, and the tips of the rest whitish. The wing is nearly of the same colour with the body, but inclines a little more to chesnut on the quills. The outer margins of the primaries have a shade of blue: their tips are dusky, and the inner edges of a chesnut colour. On the secondaries and tertials the chesnut colour encroaches also upon the outer web; is margined with green, and deeply tipped with dusky, which becomes pale at the extreme tip. The space below the ridge of the wing is green; and the rest of the feathers are of a chesnut colour, with dusky tips: the first quill being scarcely an inch and an half long, and the third, which is longest, measuring three inches. The scapular feathers and those nearest the back have a considerable tinge of blue. The legs are weak and dusky, appearing to have been of a reddish tinge.

No. 26. *Certhia Tacazze. Splendid Creeper.*

It is impossible by any words to describe the splendid effect of the colours in this bird. The whole head, neck, and breast, the upper part of the belly, the back and rump, the upper coverts and bend of the wing, present a glow of metallic lustre that cannot be surpassed by any other even of this brilliant family. The head, neck, and breast, are principally of a golden green colour, mingled with a considerable share of the rich coppery purplish gloss that adorns the other parts. The wings are dusky, edged outwardly with deep blue; the quills plain dusky; while the lower part of the belly, the vent, legs, and claws, are black. The tail would be rounded in shape, were it not for the two middle feathers which exceed the rest in length by nearly two inches: and it is of a blue black colour, with the edges, for about half the length of the feathers, of a bright steel blue, dusky beneath. The under tail coverts are of the same colour as the tail. The length of the bird is eight inches and three quarters; the bill being an inch long, considerably bent, and black.

No. 29. *Tanagra erythroryncha. Red-billed Tanager.*

In size and manners, in the arrangement of the feet, and the general colour of the plumage, this bird strongly resembles the African Beefeater. But the form of the bill is manifestly different, being three quarters of an inch long, and of a bright orange red, strong in shape, but not straight or square. The upper mandible is convex, a little inclining at the point, with no notch: but the edges are a little protuberant at the base below the nostrils, the lower one being flat at the sides, and having an angle on the lower side. The general colour of the plumage on the upper parts, the throat, and neck, is a heavy olive brown shading off at the ends of the quills into dusky, except in some of the primaries, the ends of which are of a lighter brown, and the lower parts of a brownish yellow. The tail appears rounded in shape, the feathers being somewhat pointed: but there is no rufous colour on the inner margins. The legs

and claws are brown. The rump is of the same colour with the upper parts, and the tail rather more dusky. The front feathers come forward on the bill, and half shade the nostrils, which are covered by a yellowish membrane, the aperture in which is very small and close to the feathers. I have ventured to give this bird the above name, in which I have more confidence, as I herein follow the example of our ablest ornithologist, Dr. Latham. If the Buphaga is unknown in Abyssinia, this must be a new bird; and, though not precisely answering to the generic characters of Tanagra, may as well remain attached to that genus, at least while our present uncertainty about it lasts.*

No. 37. *Sylvia pammelaina. All-black Warbler.*

The length of this bird is rather above seven inches, of which the tail takes up full three and a quarter. The bill is half an inch in length and blackish, the upper mandible inclining a little, towards the point, and having a slight notch near the tip, with a few bristles about the base; but the bill is not sufficiently flattened to refer the bird to the genus Muscicapa. In conformity with the opinion expressed by Dr. Latham, I have ventured to rank it among the Warblers, though by no means convinced that this is its correct place in the system. The whole bird is entirely of a dark blueish black above; the quills and tail inclining more to dusky black; the plumage of the breast has very little of the blueish tint, and the quills and tail, below, are of light dusky colour, the first quill feather being two inches shorter than the fourth and fifth, which are the longest. Legs and claws are of a brownish black.

No. 45. *Loxia leucotis. White-eared Grosbeak.*

The length of this bird is about four inches and a half. The bill is of a whitish brown colour. The head, neck, chin, throat, breast, belly, sides under the wings, with the under coverts, and lesser wing coverts above, are all black; on the ears is a tolerably large white spot; and a narrow white collar bounds the black at the setting on of the neck where it joins the black, and there is also an upright line of dirty white on each side the breast just before the bend of the wing; the thighs, lower belly, and vent, are also white; the under tail coverts being of a dusky black. The back is of a chesnut colour, as are also the scapulars and greater coverts of the wings, which latter are edged towards the tip with white; the remaining feathers of the wings are dusky, some of the quills being margined outwardly with a chesnut colour. The rump is of a dusky brown hue, edged and tipped with greyish. The tail is blackish brown, and the exterior feather lighter, with the shaft and outer web of a dirty white. The legs and feet are reddish brown, and the claws dusky, the hind claw being a very little bent. Dr. Latham appears at first to have entertained a suspicion that this might be only an

* I saw vast numbers of them, and they had all invariably a red bill. H. S.

additional variety of the Malacca Grosbeak, near which undoubtedly it should be placed: but he afterwards suggests the idea of its being new, in which opinion I fully coincide.

No. 56. *Alauda Desertorum. Desert Lark.*

Length about eight inches. The bill one inch long, and of a pale horn colour, bent about the tip, but not so much as in the African lark. The general colour of the plumage partakes of a greyish sandy brown, so that, when on the ground in its native deserts, the bird is with the utmost difficulty to be distinguished. About the eyes, the chin, and throat, the feathers are whitish, as are also the lower part of the belly, vent, thighs, under wing coverts, base of the prime, and tips of the secondary quills. On the belly and vent there is a slight shade of cream colour; and across the upper part of the breast is a kind of band of a much lighter shade than the back, narrowly dashed down the shafts with brown. The scapulars and upper wing coverts, are of a light dusky brown, edged and tipped with sandy white; the two outer of the primary quills being dusky, and the third, for near an inch from the base, margined on the outer web with whitish, and having a large white spot on the inner web. The rest are white across both webs at the base, and the last is deeply margined all round the tip, but principally on the inner web, with brownish white: the two first quills are of a much lighter dusky than the others. The secondaries are dark dusky, white at the base, margined outwardly and deeply tipped on both webs, so as to form two bars across that part of the wing when it is spread, which appear like small spots when the wings are closed. The two middle feathers of the tail are of a very light dusky brown, deeply margined with the same sandy colour as the back. The rest are of a dark dusky tinge, the exterior web of the outermost feather being almost white. The legs and feet are of a very pale yellowish white: and the legs, particularly, partake very much of a calcined look. The claws are of a pale horn colour, and the hind one is rather short, strong, and slightly bent, with the end whitish."

I have greatly to regret that occupations of a more serious nature prevented his Lordship from completing his list: but, he has favoured me with drawings of No. 55, which I conceive to belong to a new genus. I have given it the name of Erodia amphilensis. At the time we first saw this bird at Amphila, it struck us all as a very uncommon one, being perfectly unlike any other we had seen before. With this I shall conclude my remarks respecting the birds of Abyssinia.

The only insect which I have thought particularly worthy of notice is the Abyssinian locust, as I understand from one of our best informed naturalists that some doubts have been lately expressed respecting the destructive powers of this insect by a celebrated foreign traveller. I can, however, positively state from my own information, as well as of many persons with whom I conversed, that the one here represented is the only species of insect which

commits those dreadful ravages so often recorded to have occurred in Abyssinia: and I can also add that, while I resided at Bombay, numbers of the same species of locusts were sent down to Mr. Duncan from the upper country for the purpose of pointing out the insect which had at that time laid waste several extensive tracts of land in the interior.

The head and shoulders of this insect are armed with a thick shell or case; that of the head has a leaden grey colour, when alive, interspersed with red; the shoulder plate being of a reddish brown, spotted with white, smooth in front, and rough on the hinder part. The eye is bright yellow, with three black bars across it; feelers or horns black; the wings are of a yellowish brown, lower part tinged with a fine purple, and the whole obscurely dotted with black. The legs are externally of a leaden grey colour, the upper part shading off into black; the ribs also deep black, inside of second joint bright purple, and the thorns scarlet tipped with black; the extremities being formed of triangular shells formed of two sharp claws and a knob in the centre smooth and round. The body is cased with seven strong plates on the back, folding over one another, and the same number of a softer consistency covers the belly. It has four small feelers depending from the sides of the mouth, the two foremost of which have five joints and the hinder three. An immense flight of these insects came over to one of the Amphila islands while we remained in English Harbour, for an account of which see p. 139 of this work.

LIST OF NEW AND RARE PLANTS,

COLLECTED IN ABYSSINIA DURING THE YEARS 1805 and 1810.

Arranged according to the Linnæan system.

The plants having *Br. mss.* annexed, form new genera, described in the manuscripts of Mr. Brown. To this gentleman's kindness I am indebted for the list, which he made out from a collection of dried specimens brought by me into the country, and now in the possession of Sir Joseph Banks. The names without reference are considered by Mr. Brown as applying to new species; and for the few that have been published already, contracted references are given to the works in which they occur, namely, Willdenow's Species Plantarum, Forskal's Flora Ægyptiaco-Arabica, Vahl's Symbolæ Botanicæ, and the Appendix to the Travels of Mr. Bruce.

DIANDRIA.

Jasminum abyssinicum.
Hypoestis Forskalii. (Justicia Forskalii *Willd. sp. pl.*)
Justicia cynanchifolia.
——— bivalvis. *Willd. sp. pl.*
Meisarrhena tomentosa. *Br. mss.*
Salvia abyssinica.
Stachytarpheta cinerea.

TRIANDRIA.

Geisorrhiza abyssinica.
Commelina hirsuta.
——— acuminata.

Cyperus involutus.
——— laxus.
——— scirpoides.
——— melanocephalus.
——— densus.
Cenchrus tripsacoides.
Pennisetum villosum.
Aristida ramosa.
Eleusine? stolonifer.
Panicum ovale.

TETRANDRIA.

Pavetta congesta.
——— reflexa.
Canthium lucidum.
Buddlea acuminata. (Umfar. *Bruce.*)
——— foliata.
Nuxia congesta.
——— dentata.
Dobera glabra. (Tomex glabra. *Forsk.*)
Fusanus alternifolia.

PENTANDRIA.

Heliotropium gracile.
——— cinereum.
——— ellipticum.
——— ? dubium.
Lithospermum? ambiguum.
Anchusa affinis.
Ehretia obovata.
——— abyssinica.
Cordia ovalis.
——— abyssinica. (Wanzey *Bruce.*)
Plumbago eglandulosa.
Convolvulus cirrhosus.
——— congestus.
——— pilosus.
Neurocarpæa lanceolata. *Br. mss.* (Mannettia lanceolata. *Vahl.*)
Solanum cinereum.
——— uncinatum.
Erythræa compar.
Stroemia longifolia.
——— farinosa. *Willd. sp. pl.*
——— rotundifolia. *Willd. sp. pl.*
Rhamnus inebrians, (called in Tigré "Sadoo.")
Celastrus serrulatus.
Celastrus glaucus.
Impatiens tenella.
Paronychia sedifolia.
Saltia abyssinica. *Br. mss.*
Carissa abyssinica.
——— edulis. *Willd. sp. pl.*
Kannahia laniflora. (Asclepias laniflora. *Willd. sp. pl.*)
Pentatropis cynanchoides. *Br. mss.*
Petalostemma chenopodii. *Br. mss.*
Breweria evolvuloides.
Taxanthemum attenuatum.
Crassula puberula.

HEXANDRIA.

Loranthus lætus.
——— congestus.
——— calycinus.

OCTANDRIA.

Combretum ovale.
——— molle.
Amyris gileadensis. *Willd. sp. pl.*
——— Kataf. *Willd. sp. pl.*
Polygonum sinuatum.

DECANDRIA.

Cassia pubescens.
Pterolobium lacerans. *Br. mss.* (Kantuffa. *Bruce.*)
Fagonia armata.
Terminalia cycloptera.
Dianthus abyssinicus.

DODECANDRIA.

Calanchoe pubescens.
Sterculia abyssinica.
Reseda pedunculata.

ICOSANDRIA.

Rosa abyssinica.
Rubus compar.

POLYANDRIA.

Corchorus gracilis.

DIDYNAMIA.

Nepeta azurea.
Satureja ovata.
——— punctata.

wards, in another place, describing the land of Aidhab, he remarks, that "a governor from the Bujja presides over it, and another from "the Sultaun of Egypt, who divide the revenue between them. The "duty of the governor from Egypt is to provide supplies," (probably for the workmen engaged in the mines,) "and the governor of "the Boja has to guard it from the Habshi." This account of the Boja tends very satisfactorily to illustrate the Axum inscription.

Extract from the Travels of Marco Polo. (Lib. iii. *in Ramusio, page* 59, *c.* 38.)

"Abasch is a large province, and is called middle, or second In-"dia. The chief sovereign of this country is a Christian; and there "are six other kings, three of whom are Christians, and three Moors, "all subject to his authority.—The greater Christian king has his "residence in the centre of the country. The Moorish king has "his jurisdiction near the district of Adem (or as it should be *pro-*"perly written, Adel.)—The Abyssinians are a very strong people "in arms, and great warriors, and have continual wars with the "Soldan of Adel, and the people of Nubia, and many other nations "on their confines; and hence, from their constant exercise in arms, "are esteemed the best soldiers in India.

"About the year 1288, as was told me, it happened that the so-"vereign of the Abyssinians had an intention of making a pilgrim-"age in person to the tomb of Christ at Jerusalem, immense num-"bers of these people going there every year on a similar devotion; "but he was dissuaded by all his barons (chiefs) from it, on account "of the great danger he would have had to encounter in passing so "many places under the control of the Moors, his enemies; and on "this consideration, he commissioned a bishop, of great reputed "sanctity, who went in his stead, and made his offerings at Jerusa-"lem. On his return, he was taken captive in the city of Adel, "where the Soldan ordered him to his presence, and with threats "endeavoured to make him a convert to the Mahomedan faith; but "as he remained firm and obstinate to the Christian religion, the "Soldan ordered him to be circumcised, out of spite to the King of "Abyssinia. The priest returning, and relating his disaster and the "disgrace done to him, the King suddenly ordered his forces to be "put in order, and marched out with them, bent on the destruction "of the Sultan of Adel; which prince hearing of the King of Abys-"synia's intention, called to his assistance two other Moorish chiefs "(of Hurrur probably,) with very numerous armies: but they were "all routed by the sovereign of Habesh, who took the city of Aden "(Zeyla possibly) and laid it waste, to revenge the disgrace done "to his priest. (Vide Mr. Bruce's Travels, Vol. III. p. 32.)

"The people of Abyssinia live on wheat, rice, flesh, and milk; "and they make oil of sesamum, and have abundance of every sort "of provisions. Elephants, lions, giraffes; and they likewise have "many goats and fowls of different kinds, and a number of other "animals; among which may be mentioned monkeys, and apes "resembling men. The interior provinces are rich in gold; for "which the merchants travel voluntarily into the country, as

"they derive great advantage from the trade.* I shall now speak "of Adem." Here the author proceeds to describe Aden, though it is certain from the context, that by Adem he had hitherto meant Adel; a mistake which may have arisen probably from the inattention of the transcribers.

This was written about the year 1290, and appears to me very valuable, from its occurring at a period when we have no other European accounts of the state of Abyssinia; and from its being throughout very consistent with the narrations extracted from their own chronicles. It is much to be regretted, however, that the author does not give the name of the king, as it might have materially assisted in clearing up the chronology of those times.

Additional Remarks respecting Massowa, made in February, 1810, *partly extracted from Captain Weatherhead's Journal.*

The town of Massowa stands upon an island of the same name, about three-quarters of a mile long, by one-quarter broad, in north latitude 15° 36′ 15″, and east longitude 39° 23′ 30″. Its harbour is easy of access, having deep water into it, though the channel is narrow: and it will contain fifty sail of vessels with safety, provided they moor with one anchor to E. N. E. and another to the W. S. W. In general, the wind comes from the land all night, with gentle breezes; and towards ten o'clock in the forenoon, it veers round to the eastward, and blows fresh; but no sea of any consequence comes into the harbour, owing to the narrowness of the entrance. The island is a place of no strength, having only two pieces of cannon lying on the ground without any carriages, and one field-piece mounted, which is not safe to fire: the armed force amounting to fifteen soldiers only with matchlocks, and a few spearmen. The buildings consist of four mosques, constructed in a plain style, and a few stone houses, many of which are now in ruins; the great mass of the people residing in huts made of reeds, and covered with grass; each of which has a small yard attached to it. The town is regularly supplied with milk, bullocks, and goats from the country, which come over in a passage boat, that passes to and fro, from the island to the main, during the whole of the day. The people generally, however, come down to the jetty about eight in the morning, and return about sun-set to their respective homes: there are no wells of water on the island, but a considerable number of large tanks, which collect the rain-water, the greater part of which is kept in reserve for the purpose of supplying the Sheriffes dows; the inhabitants being furnished daily with this article from the wells at Arkeeko. The natives charge for supplying a ship, one dollar for twenty skins, and a skin holds about five gallons. The trade of Massowa chiefly consists of cotton from Muscat and Bombay, which sells to good advantage in the interior, the natives manufacturing it

* It is curious to observe how completely the style is formed on that of the Arabic.

into cloth, after mixing it with their own, which is of a superior quality. A few coarse Indian cloths, and coarse double-milled broad cloths, are likewise articles of import: the exports consist of gold, ivory, slaves, and corn, from Abyssinia. The people speak a mixed language of Abyssinian and Arabic, which makes it difficult even for an Arab to understand them. The population of the town amounts to about two thousand. The natives build dows here, and small boats: and vessels often heave down and repair on the island, which has some small spots of sandy beach.

The following information concerning the trade and duties of Zeyla, summed up for three years, was given to Mr. Stuart, by the Baskatib of that place, in March 1810.

Exports.

Six thousand pots of ghee; duty ½ a measure per pot.
80 bahars of coffee. } These are sent by the Sultan of Hurrur,
30 bahars of ivory. } whose goods are exempt from duty.
Myrrh, 5 bahars; no duty on entering: four dollars per bahar on shipping.
Ostrich feathers, 3 bahars; no duty.
Juwarry, 5160 measures; duty 10 per cent. on entering; 20 per cent. on shipping.
Wheat, 4000 measures; duty as on juwarry.
Hides of bullocks dressed; 1 corja to ship, but no duty on entrance.
Slaves, male and female, 900: duty one dollar each, whether sold in town or shipped.
The ghee is brought from the Somaulies.
The coffee from Hurrur and Gerri.
The ivory from the Esa Somaulies, the Galla, Hurrur, and Baskola countries.
The gum arabic and myrrh, are brought by the Goodabeesa Somauli.
The ostrich feathers by the same, as well as the Esa.
The juwarry and wheat, by the Goodabeesa and Esa, from Baskola, Gerri, &c.; but never by the Heberawul Somauli.
The hides from Hurrur, &c.
The slaves are from various places, as Berbera, Hurrur, Tajoura, &c.

Imports.

Tobacco from Muscat, 60 busta or bales; duty 2 dollars per frasil.
Coarse cloths from Cutch, 200 bales; duty 5 dollars per bale.

Miscellaneous Observations respecting the trade of Mocha in May and June, 1810.

The best time for getting a cargo at Mocha is from the beginning of March until the end of August; as coffee in those months is dry, loses little in weight, and is consequently better adapted for shipping. Spanish dollars were at this time 1½ per cent. more valuable

than German dollars, a circumstance owing to the quantity of specie sent over at this season to India; at other times the German dollars are of greater value, as no other will pass in Abyssinia or on the African coast.

One hundred bales of coffee, at 305lbs. to the bale, will average 14 tons English. One camel's load of coffee amounts to 15 frazils. The brokerage paid to the Banyans is two and a half per cent.

The price of the different articles was at this time as follows:

Best coffee,* from Uddeen, 118, 120 dollars per bahar.
Gum arabic, cleared and put on board, 25 dollars per bale of 330lbs.
Gum copal, (not cleared) 4½ dollars per frazil.
Liban-mete, (frankincense from Mete) 3½ to 4 dollars per frazil.
Gum mastich, 3½ dollars per frazil.
Gum myrrh, 3¾ to 4 dollars per frazil.
Bullock skins, ½ a dollar each.
Black headed sheep skins from Berbera, Yemen sheep, goat, and kid skins dried, 6d. each.
Tanned skins, 1 shilling each.
Kia rope, 15 dollars for five frazils.

Besides these articles, indigo, barilla, salt-petre, and senna leaves, are to be bought at a reasonable rate.

Information from Bemjee, the principal Banyan at Mocha.

Expenses upon a bahar of 495lbs. net, when completely garbled and shipped on board, is as follows:

	D.	Cts.
Custom house and Coolie hire	0	28½
Weighing duty in custom house	1	0
Transporting to factory and starting	0	5
Garbling in the factory and clearing	0	25
Cleaning with baskets and winnowing	0	6½
Bags and mats for packing	0	12½
Gunny bags	0	57
Sewing with grass	0	8
Ropes for bags	0	8
Packerman	0	19
Coolie hire to gate	0	19
Re-weighing at the custom house and boat hire	0	8
Duty three per cent. *on prime cost*	3	46
Boat hire per *bale*	0	10
Commission to Banyan at 2½ per cent.	2	90
Coolie hire in factory	0	3
Weighing in factory	0	4
Mats and packing mats	0	7
Watching per bag, when left on the quay at night	0	25
Total	9	81½

* Best coffee comes from Uddeen, Gebil Saruk, Uthma, Massar, Annus, and Hemma; the second quality from Badden and Huaoss.

Duty and expenses on a bag of 330lbs. of Gum, the duty being the same on all kinds.

	D.	Cts.
Arab duty	1	75
Weighing	0	75
Custom house coolies	0	25
Starting per bag	0	1½
Packing per bag	0	12½
Double matts	0	12½
Outer matts over all	0	11
Ropes	0	7
Weighing in factory	0	4
Duty ad valorem on exportation	0	80
Packing	0	7
Coolie hire to gate	0	12½
Commission at 2½ per cent.	0	60
Boat hire	0	12½
Watchman	0	7
Re-weighing on ship board	0	6
Total	5	8½

This is supposing the cost at 20 dollars.

Copy of the Manifest of Cargo shipped at Mocha on board the Marian.

631 whole bales of coffee, each 305lbs. net.*
191 half ditto.
5 ditto, on freight.
108 whole bales of gum arabic, each 330lbs. net.
69 half ditto, each 165lbs.
35 chests of gum amony, each from 400 to 450.
24 bales of gum myrrh, 330 each.
4 frankincense, ditto.
33 gum mastich, whole and half bales.
6 ditto senna leaves.
13 bales of indigo.
2 bales of gall nuts.
23 bags of salt-petre.
3 baskets of tortoise shells.
3 tons of barilla.
259 bullocks hides.
2842 sheep skins.
170 red skins dressed.

The thermometer during my stay in Abyssinia in March, April, and May, varied according to the height of the local situation. At Chelicut it was 70; at Antálo 65; on the banks of the Tacazze 95; while on the mountains of Samen it must have been below the freezing point. During these same months the average of the thermometer at Mocha was 78, and during January and February at Zeyla, it was 79, varying from 74 to 82.

* The coffee sold in England, in 1811, at 12*l.* 10*s.* and 13*l.* per hundred.

Extract from the Journal of the Ship Marian.

July 6, 1810.

H.	Course.	Distance.		Winds.
4	P. M. E. N. E.	4	0	W. b. N.
5		5	6	
6		5	6	
7	E. b. S.	5	4	
8		2	6	Variable.
9		0	0	Calm.
10	E. b. N.	2	4	S. b. W.
11		3	0	
12		3	0	
1	A. M. East.	3	0	
2		3	6	
3	E. b. N.	4	4	
4		4	4	
5		4	0	
6	East.	4	0	
7		4	0	
8		4	0	
9		4	0	
10	E. ½ S.	3	4	S. b. W.
11		3	6	
12		3	6	S. S. W.

July 7, 1810.

H.	Course.	Distance.		Winds.
1	P. M. S. E. b. E.	2	4	S. S. W.
2		2	4	
3		2	4	
4		2	4	
5		3	6	
6		3	6	
7	S. E. b. E. ½ E.	4	0	
8		4	0	
9	S. S. E.	4	0	
10		3	6	
11		3	6	
12		4	0	S. W. b. S.
1	A. M.	5	0	
2		4	4	
3		4	0	
4		4	0	
5		3	4	
6		3	2	
7		3	2	
8		3	2	
9	W. b. N. &c.	4	4	S. S. W.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

A few days before the last sheet of this work went to press, I had the pleasure of receiving from Monsieur Henry, a literary gentleman residing at Paris, his French translation of Lord Valentia's Travels, which appears to be executed with great ability. At the same time he was obliging enough to send me a copy of another edition of the journal of my Travels into Abyssinia, extracted from Lord Valentia's work, and published by Monsieur Prevost of Geneva, with whom I had previously corresponded on the subject: and I may here be permitted to express, so far as I am concerned, my obligations to both these gentlemen for the liberal spirit which prompted them to undertake these translations under the very untoward circumstances with which they had to contend. I find, to my great satisfaction, by the Appendices subjoined to these works, that my conjectures respecting the Adulitic inscriptions have been very candidly admitted by one of the most celebrated scholars in France, M. Sylvestre de Sacy, who, in the twelfth volume of the "Annales des Voyages," has thus expressed himself, "Il me suffit "de dire qu'il (M. Salt) me parait avoir parfaitement établi que "l'inscription d'Adulis forme réellement deux inscriptions qui n'ont "rien de commun; que de ces deux inscriptions, celle qui est gra-"vée sur la chaise de marbre blanc appartient incontestablement à "un roi des Abyssiniens ou Axumites," &c. He afterwards proceeds to observe, that he cannot agree with me in opinion, that this was erected by Aizana,* for which he gives such convincing arguments, that I am induced to think he is right: and if this be the case, the inscription must be attributed, in all probability, to the Emperor El Asguaga, no other reign intervening between him and Aizana of sufficient duration, to which it can be applied. It is worthy of observation that this correction takes it back to the period, at which I have remarked that a change appears to have occurred in the reigning dynasty of the Abyssinian emperors, as denoted by the prefixing of the article El to the names of the sovereigns, a circumstance that may hereafter lead to a still further elucidation of this part of the Abyssinian History; but I confess that, as yet, I have not sufficiently consulted the necessary authorities to enable me to enter into a discussion on the subject. M. De Sacy has also rightly determined, that the figures in the Axum inscription are formed of Greek characters, an opinion, which it will be seen I had adopted previously to meeting with his valuable remarks; and I am happy to find, that we besides generally agree as to the numerals to which the characters refer.

* Vide p. 359 of this work.

FINIS.

DATE DUE
